REGIONAL IDENTITY AND HERITAGE IN ROMAGNA

by

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to assess the relationship between heritage and identity in Romagna through the lens of heritage studies as it was only explored within historical frameworks. The objectives of this research include the analysis of the relationship between local identity and heritage through an ethnographic fieldwork among local people; the application of the key concepts of heritage studies to explain the value of heritage underpinning both the senses of identity and place in Romagna; and the development of the habitus theory in this specific context.

Key findings are the understanding of the past and current uses of heritage in Romagna to convey both the feeling of Romagnoliness and the sense of place primarily through intangible heritage, while tangible heritage is often perceived as an image of the city and distant from identity feelings; and the legitimation of some “old” cultural practices still reflecting identity feelings. The application of heritage studies notions and the habitus theory clarifies why intangible heritage better conveys the Romagnolian identity, and explains how locals still turn places, objects and practices into heritage. Finally, a full involvement of the local community within a holistic approach to the Romagnolian heritage is desirable.

To my dad, mum, husband and my little ones for the support they have given me during this long path.
And a bit to myself as well.

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Setting the Context

1. EXPLORING THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF HERITAGE IN ROMAGNA

1.1. Introduction

The title of this chapter would like to emphasise the idea of a research undertaken within a well-established and studied area, that of Romagna, but providing a different and new perspective through the discipline of heritage studies. The regional culture and identity of Romagna can encompass an extensive literature mainly in historical terms, however, a heritage study conceptualising heritage as the main focus and element at the basis of the Romagnolian sense of place and sense of identity has not been provided yet. This chapter justifies the reasons behind the choice to undertake this study, the historical context of Italian regionalism and the pilot study undertaken to inform the main directions this research had to follow to provide responses to the relation between heritage and identity in Romagna from a heritage study point of view, in other words to explore the use of the past for present purposes, the significance of heritage nowadays, and its legitimation in terms of supporting identity.

1.2. Why this study?

The aim of this research is to investigate the relationship between heritage and identity in Romagna through the lens of heritage studies. The main research questions to address are as following: 1) how the Romagnolian identity is conveyed through heritage? 2) if there are distinctions between tangible and intangible expressions of heritage in conveying the feeling of identity and sense of belonging,

why and how some forms of heritage better reflect those feelings and the social value? 3) can the gap between tangible and intangible heritage in Romagna be shortened towards a more holistic approach to heritage? All these questions will be addressed by carrying out an ethnographic fieldwork among both locals to understand their perception of heritage and place, and tourists to highlight any discrepancies between insiders and outsiders in terms of the perception of the sense of place of Romagna. All findings will be contextualised within the heritage studies discipline, which means bringing into the debate specific themes related to this discipline, such as the value system approach, the debatable distinction between tangible and intangible heritage, and the correlated discourses on authorised and official heritage versus alternative and unofficial heritage. In addition to that, some space will be given to Bourdieu's theory of habitus in the attempt to provide both a current reading and an historical explanation of the past standing into some elements of the present. Although this concept can justify some traits of the feeling of being Romagnolian, it is not exempt from some limitations, which will be elucidated. Being the research related to heritage – interpreted as a process occurring in the present – and identity, their interconnection at local level will be investigated through the methodology of ethnography. Ethnographic data will be then processed and analysed within the theoretical frameworks of heritage and habitus to find valid answer to the research questions.

The idea to undertake a research on Romagna, its inhabitants and the relation they have with their heritage, came up several years ago following the reading of some books on both the uses and management of heritage - mainly in relation to my Master studies - and Romagna as a cultural region with a proper marked identity. I found fascinating the idea to merge these two topics together because a research

within the heritage studies field on the region is not available yet. Indeed, there is a vast literature on Romagna as a cultural region and on Romagnolian identity: Baioni (1999), Balzani (2001, 2002); Balzani and Mazzuca (2016); Camporesi (1974); Conti (2016), Gambi (1969, 1977a, 1990); Novaga (2016), Pieri and Biondi (1988), Ridolfi (1997), along with an extensive general literature on heritage and identity: Anico and Peralta (2009); Berking (2003); Billig (1995); Brett (1996); Bruno (1999); Carrier (2005); Derry and Malloy (2003); Diaz-Andreu and Champion (1996); Graham (2000); Harrison (2010, 2013); Inglehart and Baker (2000); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998); Jones (2005); Meskel (2002, 2003); Smith (2006, 2009); and heritage and tourism: Battilani (2007); Battilani, Bernini, Mariotti (2018); Mariotti (2015); Robinson (2011); Robinson et al. (2015); Timothy (2011). Nothing had merged and tackled these concepts in Romagna from a heritage studies perspective prior to this research. The reasons for this lack can be multiple, such as the strong historical past of the region, which has always suggested an analysis in historical terms rather than others, but much is due to the lack of studies on heritage conceptualisation within the heritage debate, which is well-spread mainly in English-speaking countries. Romagna is a well-suited area to undertake a study on how culture can make people sharing it feel as bonded together: since 1970 Romagna has been part of the broader administrative region called Emilia-Romagna (although the whole area was already recognised as a unique constituency in 1948), which means it has no political or administrative autonomy, but it has a very strong cultural identity shared among its inhabitants. Much has been written about it, but nothing focused on heritage considering at the basis of the creation of Romagna and its identity, and the role heritage still has in conveying the sense of Romagna today. This research would like to fill in this gap. The relationship between heritage and identity is then explored within the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies. As it will be discussed in the

methodology chapter, the field of heritage studies borrows “perspectives” and methods from other disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology, history, art, and sociology. This research then has used methodological tools coming from other disciplines, specifically an ethnographic methodology based on interviews and personal observation, as they represented the most appropriate methods when dealing with people (Carman and Sørensen 2009). This approach has given the research a socio-cultural perspective which is in line with the topic researched.

Prior to moving to the core questions, I would like to highlight a few issues, which need to be clarified before proceeding. First of all, I would like to remark the fact that this research has no political intents nor supports any secessionist purposes with regard to the independence of Romagna from Emilia. The research’s aim is purely confined within the heritage studies field in order to provide an understanding of Romagnolian heritage and its value at a specific point in time, specifically now. Second: this study, being focused on identity and heritage, which are dynamic and fluid concepts changing over time, can provide only a snapshot of the role and value of heritage in Romagna captured nowadays: both concepts are likely to change over time in accordance with socio-cultural and economic and political changes. As I will argue, heritage is a process, whose outcomes are places, objects, sites or practices with specific values given by people in the present. Heritage is the projection of identity through the assignation of values. Identities change over time, therefore values and consequently heritage change over time. Due to the variable nature of the concepts debated, the outcomes of this research will represent a snapshot of heritage and identity in Romagna within specific time and context frameworks.

Another clarification I would like to emphasise is my intellectual debt to the work of Prof. Roberto Balzani for its brilliant analysis of Romagna, Romagnolian culture and

identity carried out in the recent years (Balzani 1995, 2001; Balzani and Mazzuca 2016). Balzani's work represents an amazing investigation of the idea of Romagna and its identity: the author, drawing upon the works of other authors such as Anderson (for the idea of an imagined community), Hobsbawm (for invented traditions) and Sahlins (for the theory of localisation of national), has applied their theories to the case of Romagna providing a robust framework to start from in order to focus this research on the heritage aspects within the current heritage debate – that is the new angle of my research. In paying my debt to Balzani's work for his illuminating inputs to my research, I would like to focus on some differences, which make this research original from an academic perspective. First of all, Balzani's reconstruction of Romagnolian identity is confined to the historical dimension, although the author draws some considerations on ways forward to support political ends (Balzani 2006; Balzani and Mazzuca 2016). With this research, I would like to take Balzani's work as historical framework, but also to concentrate on the heritage aspects within his historical reconstruction. The nature, scope and essence of this research, as declared, are within the field of heritage studies: my aim is to bring out all those cultural elements emerging from the historical reconstructions and recognise their contribution and significance, not only in the identity formation process occurring in the past, but mainly in the current sense of identity and place experienced by the local people interviewed during the three months fieldwork. The aim is to provide a contemporary legitimation towards some practices and traditions that may be perceived as confined to the past only. I am going to start with Balzani's work to deviate from it, and follow the heritage path, rather than the historical one, to provide a different interpretation of the current significance of Romagnolian heritage in relation to identity, and to mediate some of Balzani's conclusions on this regard. The whole panorama of Romagna and Romagnolian culture has changed and has

become quite eclectic nowadays, so that Balzani has affirmed that Romagnolian culture has two faces: a *progressive* one supported by the wish to experiment, held by new generations always within the framework of a larger tradition; and the other, *regressive*, resistant to any changes (Balzani 2001; Balzani and Mazzuca 2016). These two interpretations can be read together: attachment to old traditions act as a brake preventing locals from becoming emancipated in order to be more open to new businesses and accommodate changes, such as embracing the idea of having a unique bigger region to place aside to, and not independent from, Emilia (Balzani 2001). This interpretation is historical and political at the same time: it is related to the use of cultural elements (heritage) historically reconstructed to support current political goals – heritage is particularly suitable for this end. Within this context, I would like to suggest a third interpretation rooted into the discipline of heritage studies, where heritage values are investigated, as this research has done, in order to provide a legitimation of the sense of belonging and identity raised from the fieldwork results. It is within this context that this research finds its raison d'être: the understanding of values and significance of heritage as a key element underpinning the sense of place and belonging in Romagna, and in today's identity of the Romagnolian people.

In addition to providing a heritage study analysis of Romagnolian identity and sense of place, both based on heritage, this research would like also to understand the reasons behind the lack of local community involvement in the majority of tangible heritage expressions, mainly in the city of Ravenna, which hosts eight World Heritage Sites redolent of an illustrious past. The a-typical case of Ravenna has also been recognised by the Nobel prize Dario Fo (1999). Romagna has an important historic past, which has left some tangible remains of its greatness. However, tangible

heritage expressions are mainly related to the city where they stand rather than to people or their sense of belonging and identity, to which they seem quite disconnected. This research has also investigated this situation to understand the historical reasons behind it. Some ways forward to shorten the gap between the perception of tangible and intangible heritage will be suggested.

1.3. Italian regionalism and the history of Romagna

The Italian regional structure, before assuming its current appearance, has undergone a long and troubled evolution. In the 19th century Italy was subdivided into various states of different importance and greatness (Fig.1.1).

Figure 1-1 Map of Italy before the Unification.

(From the web available at: https://www.150anni.it/webi/index.php?s=30&wid=1075. Adapted by the author).

Soon after the Unification of the peninsula in 1861, a certain centralising tendency prevailed: the aim of creating a unique nation was based on the need to create a national conscience that was lacking in the period prior to the unification. To this end, the Italian State became more centralised and a process called nationalisation of localisms began (Sahlins 1989), where all localisms were forced to unify themselves to the current new forming state. This situation produced local reactions to re-affirm localisms against nationalistic purposes. The process of regions' creation in Italy has not been linear nor simple: examples of pre-region entities were there even before the unification of Italy, where several criteria, such as functional, ethnic and geographic ones, outlined an idea of region, although the presence of these elements had never been fully recognised. "What we are used to define as regions, in reality are entities vaguely defined, and above all, they are the results of historical and cultural processes, rather than ethnic or geographical conditions" (Cavazza 1997:18). Cavazza also argues that the formation and consolidation of regions in Italy was due to the anti-unification tendencies still common after the unification, but also to the tendency of local intellectuals to see in the regional identities a kind of political aggregation (Cavazza 1997:19). During the period between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Italian State was perceived as quite inefficient, and some debate on decentralisation pushed towards the regionalist idea. Any tendencies towards this perspective were attenuated during the First World War, when nationalistic sentiments underpinned the whole nation and diminished the regionalist inputs. However, they re-emerged even more strongly during the Fascist era (1922-1943).

A similar process, just described in general terms, could be seen in the development of Romagna as well. The area has gone through several dominations over time,

which have conferred to the region some of its characteristic traits: traces of Roman centuriation in the fields, the name itself that comes from the Langobard period (568-774 AD), although it did not imply any association with identity feeling (Balzani 2001), or even the strong political identity which has underpinned the history and myth of the region for decades, along with the peculiar and atypical character of the city of Ravenna. Cavazza (1997) argues that in this area there were already after the unification some inputs to think about it as an apparent homogeneous region due to the strong sense of belonging of their inhabitants, different from Emilia, although associated with it from an administrative point of view.

The invention of the idea of Romagna and its identity are a recent phenomenon (Balzani 2001) resulting from historical events and vicissitudes. The Romagnolian identity was born within a political context sanctioning an indissoluble bond between people and politics. Politics has always underpinned the history of Romagna and its inhabitants (Balzani and Mazzuca 2016), from anti-monarchism and anti-clericalism feelings, to the vibrant dispute between republicans and socialists, even through the support of the Fascist regime. Romagnolian identity is the work undertaken by intellectuals, among whom Aldo Spallicci can represent the leader, creating the cultural regionalism in Romagna, which, in turn, was used by Mussolini to support the image of a “New Man” (to recall Roman Republic’s conception of Novo Homo also embodied by Caesar) able to consolidate the central power during fascism. In fact, during the Fascist period, the totalitarian political regime implemented the idea of cities as little homes being part and feeding the idea of the big home (the nation): the myth that Mussolini wanted to convey to the Italian people was about the greatness of his home land (the city of Predappio – Forlì – in Romagna), which gave birth to the man embodying the new fascism, a man who in reality is nothing else than a son of

the people, a son of the rural land. All these qualities became the sum of the all Italic qualities, such as the love for the family, the work, the rurality of the landscape, and the civil virtues (Balzani and Zavoli 2003).

The result of the fascist bureaucratic decentralisation and exaltation of the home land enforced the folkloristic aspects of local identities based on the landscapes, dialects, and popular traditions (Cappelli 1998) and revitalised the idea of regional identities. After the Fascist period, the history of Romagna developed further: following the Second World War Romagna was no longer the rural land it was before. An economic boom made the area open towards the sea providing new settings even for tourism. This trend is still contemporary and it is within this context that this research has taken place to understand the contemporary value of Romagnolian heritage, whose elements are rooted into its historical past.

1.4. Pilot Study in Romagna: perception of identity among local community

In January 2011, the author undertook a short pilot study in Romagna (Fig.1.2 and 1.3) to explore in advance of the proper fieldwork some of the key themes, which would be addressed in the main body of this research.

Figure 1-2 Emilia-Romagna region. Romagna is the South-East area.

(From https://www.informagiovani-italia.com/mappa_emilia_romagna.htm).

Figure 1-3 Romagna.

(From the web [https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/politica/13222553/emilia-romagna-referendum-autonomia-secessione.html], modified by the author).

The pilot study aimed at testing the relation between heritage and identity, and at outlining how identity works in the area. The author collected views on local identity and perceptions of living traditions from Romagnolian people. All results from the pilot study were used to confirm that Romagna represents an example of cultural

regionalism supported by a strong regional identity, and mainly to address the core themes in the relationship between heritage and identity, which would be explored in detail in the main fieldwork.

For this pilot study, a sample of people aged between 30s to 60s years old was interviewed: they had different backgrounds, and all were born in one of the three provinces of the Romagna – Ravenna, Rimini and Forlì-Cesena – or in their surrounding towns and villages. One of the first questions I asked was whether they felt Romagnolian, and what it meant to them. The majority of interviewees has asserted “absolutely yes” and identified that being Romagnolian meant primarily being joyful, chatterbox, generous, being a gourmet, simple and rural, all attributes related to the character of the inhabitants. In addition to positive features, part of them also admitted negative aspects such as the excessive anti-clericalism and extreme attachment to politics. Being Romagnolian also meant having a privileged relationship with the territory and the landscape, ranging from the sea, to hills and historic cities. It emerges that the link between the character of Romagnolians and their land is represented mainly by food, which has been recognised as a typical element of the culture. Interviewees have also identified as symbols of Romagna some examples of typical and regional food and wine (for instance “piadina” - a type of bread (Fig.1.4) – and “sangiovese” wine), hand-crafted products, such as tablecloths with particular designs (Fig.1.5), the Romagnolian dialect, village feasts, the passion for bikes and motorbikes considered as a phenomenon quite widespread in the region, and the characteristic “ballo liscio”, a type of dance.

Figure 1-4 Romagnolian piadina.

(From the web: https://www.granconsigliodellaforchetta.it/emilia-romagna-prodotti-tipici/).

Figure 1-5 Typical Romagnolian tablecloths stamp.

(Photo from the web, available at: https://www.romagnaatavola.it/it/tele-romagnole/).

A couple of responses are reported below:

"the typical language of Romagna, called Romagnolian dialect is the major expression of our identity. Although it is less and less spoken in the cities, it still remains as the predominant language in the countryside" (middle-age craftsman)

"Being Romagnolian means being son of the sea and the earth at the same time. The variety of landscapes, ranging from the sea to hills and mountains, offers fantastic and relaxing places, along with lovely food" (man mid-30s, librarian).

It has emerged that Romagnolians are proud of their traditions and identity. They perceive their culture as an element unifying people and enforcing the sense of belonging. The position of interviewees as regards the fear of losing their traditions was quite clear and they definitely do not want their traditions to be abandoned but preserved.

"Traditions must be preserved as they are the link with our roots and give us a sense of identity" (woman, senior archaeologist in her 30s).

"Abandoning our living culture is like losing part of our personal life and memories" (middle-age woman).

"Leaving these traditions would be losing part of our history" (self-employed middle-aged man).

"Traditions allow us to confront ourselves with what we were, and push us to do better. The pomposity of ignoring traditions is one of the worse failures of youth" (man mid-30s, librarian).

Through the responses to the first question, it clearly emerges that the feeling of cultural identity is strong in the region and that being Romagnolian is linked to the land and rural traditions, to craftsmanship, landscape, food, language and music as well as to the character of people. The living traditions are seen as symbols of identity by Romagnolians, who still feel attached to them and support their preservation.

Since one of the key research questions of the pilot study was to understand to what extent people were aware of the origins of their identity, I asked interviewees whether they knew where the living traditions came from. This question was indirectly related to the awareness of the process of identity's formation in the region. Responses were interesting from a social point of view. Many people answered that living traditions in Romagna came from the rurality of the territory and agricultural sphere. Responses were mainly about the type of traditions surviving from the rural past of Romagna, but interviewees did not specify how they had been formed. However, some responses deserve a more detailed attention: few people admitted both not knowing the origins of Romagnolian traditions, and thinking about that only because they had been asked to express an opinion. Moreover, a woman of middle age, in particular, said that these traditions were born with her.

"I do not know where some traditions come from, I was born with them and they are part of me" (middle-aged female financial promoter).

I have found this response extremely significant. In fact, it confirms that living traditions are still rooted in Romagnolian people as something which is part of their selves and even taken for granted. Beside statements on maintaining traditions and living culture, there are others which sadly manifest the fear of losing traditions due to globalisation and losing appeal of traditions for younger generations.

A key achievement of the pilot study was to demonstrate that Romagnolians feel themselves as people different from their neighbours. They feel their own identity is based on cultural elements and living traditions, which can also be called by using the academic definition of "intangible heritage" (UNESCO 2003). Once the importance of living traditions and intangible heritage for Romagnolians had been

demonstrated, the further step of the brief pilot study was to understand the value of sites and monuments, and other tangible expressions of heritage. Therefore, the author has tried to investigate the value of sites and monuments standing in the cities. The final question asked interviewees whether the above tangible heritage – although the distinction between tangible and intangible heritage may be contested (Smith 2006) – is representative of both their identity and the more specific Romagnolian identity, being the latter one of the strongest forms of identity in accordance with the results coming from the pilot study. Apart from one positive statement coming from an archaeologist, the remaining people have affirmed that a relationship between their personal identity and sites and monuments, including some World Heritage Sites located in the city of Ravenna, if it exists, it is very weak.

"Monuments are sons of other epochs and do not represent my identity or being Romagnolian. Being Romagnolian doesn't depend on monuments, mosaics, castles, churches, but on the transmitted education" (man, librarian in his 30s).

"In our land there are many cultural monuments, sites, but they are far. I believe being Romagnolian is closer and it is something related to the land, craft, honesty and genuineness of people living here" (middle-age woman)

"I feel very little represented by the monuments and sites. I like experiencing the current landscape and the land by walking through woods, fishing and living rural traditions such as the convivial tradition of killing pigs to prepare home-made salami, ham and chops to eat with families and friends" (middle-age man)

This question has revealed an interesting aspect of the relationship between heritage and identity since it seems that in Romagna intangible heritage expressions are the best tool to express regional identity feelings, which are often associated to being

Romagnolian, whereas tangible heritage expressions seem to stand in, and belong to, the cities rather than to the people, and to respond to different purposes, such as tourist attractions and commodification of heritage. In Romagna, the sense of identity, which predominantly coincides with being Romagnolian, is still transmitted by oral education, traditions, and living culture. Monuments and sites can represent other aspects of the identity of Romagnolians, such as the feeling of belonging to the city they stand, but contribute little to the feeling of being Romagnolian, which is the predominant form of identity observed during the pilot study. Intangible expressions of heritage then are best suited to convey a sense of regional identity and locality, whereas tangible heritage expressions are often used to convey an image of the city, which is indirectly linked with people living there. This discourse can find an explanation on the broader discourses on multiple selves and plural identities people have (Smith 1991; Preston 1997; Howard 2003). The distinction between tangible and intangible heritage expressions as markers of different types of identity in relation to places and locality, as it has emerged from the pilot study, has paved the way for further research to understand the reasons behind this situation in Romagna from a heritage study point of view, which will be addressed extensively in the course of main fieldwork.

1.5. Conclusions

This chapter has explained the reasons behind the decision to undertake this research: the lack of studies on heritage and identity in Romagna within the heritage studies field. It is stated that the purpose of this study is to understand the contemporary value and significance of heritage in an area showing a great historical past, and an artificially created sense of identity, both expressed through different

heritage expressions, to which people give discordant values. In recognising the contribution of other authors, such as Balzani for his historical contextualisation of Romagnolian identity and its cultural regionalism, this research's aim is to tackle the "Romagnolian idea" from a pure heritage studies perspective: this research will be giving more space to heritage to understand why Romagnolian identity is so strongly linked to intangible heritage expressions rather than to monuments (some of those even universally known) spread within its territory. Prior to exploring these themes in detail, the next two chapters will help define the historical context where both the Romagnolian cultural regionalism and identity were formed, along with the methodology applied to undertake the main fieldwork.

2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: CULTURAL REGIONALISM OF AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the historical context where the cultural regionalism of Romagna was formed and will explain why it can be considered an imagined community as many authors have described it (Balzani 2001). Drawing from the results of the pilot study, this chapter is going to show the process of region's formation and the parallel feeling of regional identity. In doing so, Paasi's process of the institutionalisation of regions will be applied to the case of Romagna (Paasi 1986; 1986a; 2001; 2002a). The feeling of regional identity raising from that process, as the result of both regional consciousness and the identity of the region (Paasi 1986), will be contextualised and explored in heritage terms in the next chapters.

2.2. Regionalism and the process of region-building

The best disciplines to investigate the process of regionalism, boundaries and regional identity appear to stand within the field of social sciences, above all there are the disciplines of cultural and human geographies, which have turned from essentialist thinking to the perspective of critical deconstruction (Felgenhauer 2010; Gregory 1995; O'Thuathail 1996). Regions are not defined by natural elements determining territorial extensions, but rather they are understood as socially constructed and created in political, economic, cultural and administrative practices and discourses (Paasi 2001; Simon, Huigen and Groote 2009), alongside historically

contingent processes (Paasi 1986, 2002; Gilbert 1988; Murphy 1991). “The community or region is a consequence of a complex process of reproduction, production or creation of space” (Raagmaa 2002:56). Many authors, analysing the phenomenon of nation and region’s formation, and focusing on how social identities were shaped by the states or central authorities, have agreed in affirming that many social identities and regions are the result of, or a response to, the state's attempts to define or re-define its outer limits (Wilson and Donnan 1998).

The creation of nation-states was a violent process and a battle for hegemony: a particular form of identity had to be imposed from the centre and some parts claimed to speak for the whole nation (Billig 1995). Regionalism is considered both a social construct, and a reaction to the formation of nation-states, mainly during the 19th century. This socially constructed reaction arose in order to avoid an imposed culture coming from the centre (Balzani 2001; Sahlins 1989). In Italy the process of nationalisation started in the 1861 *Risorgimento:* the Unification of the peninsula extended from the centre to the periphery, generating regional cultural identities, which could be interpreted as an attempt to prevent the recently formed state from both dictating its new traditions and culture, such as language, history, patriotic values, and marginalizing local cultures (Balzani 2001; Gambi 1991). In D’Azeglio’s famous words in regard to the Italians: “Italians have to be made: individuals have to stop thinking of themselves merely as Lombardians or Sicilians” (Billig 1995:27).

This process, undertaken by the new-formed state, is referred to by Sahlins (1989) as the “nationalisation of local”. It has generated opposite reactions, particularly strong in the fringes of nations: “the more the new state tended to homologate peripheries, the more local cultures tended to get regional” (Balzani and Zavoli 2003:77). This reaction, defined as “localisation of national” (Sahlins 1989) allowed

social and political actors during the 19th and 20th century to take advantage of the situation of nation-states' formation in order not only to oppose themselves to the new state to maintain specific features, but also to generate a set of values and traditions – in other words a culture – having a meaning at a regional level. The process of “localisation of national” as described by Sahlins was at the basis of the formation of many regional identities in Italy, and resulted in different patterns of regionalisms (from pure regionalism to more extrovert realities, such as the case of Romagna (Balzani 2001; Gambi 1977), where a claim of cultural regionalism is supported mainly by cultural identity elements), which are in line with the discourse on how all human beings make their own cultural environment and define themselves within a social context elaborated by Mary Douglas (1970, 1978) through the grid-group method.

2.2.1. The institutionalisation of a region

“The construction of regions and territories is part of the perpetual transformation of the spatial system, in which regions emerge, exist for some time and may then disappear” (Paasi 2001:16). This process has been proposed by Paasi in the mid-1980s (1986, 1986a, 2002a) and is called “institutionalisation of regions”, through which regions come into being. The process consists of four simultaneous aspects: territorial shaping, symbolic shaping, institutional shaping, and establishment of the region that “turn a territorial unit into an established entity in the spatial structure and is then defined in political, economic, cultural and administrative institutionalised practices and social consciousness” (Paasi 2001:16).

- *Territorial shaping:* this phase consists of the assumption of territorial awareness and shape (Zimmerbauer 2011:246). “Although boundaries do not need to be physical lines” (Paasi 2001:16), they are extremely important for territorial shaping of the regions' formation process and for the emergence of regional consciousness among inhabitants. This phase refers to the localisation of social practices (Paasi 1986).

- *Symbolic shaping:* in accordance with Paasi's thoughts (2001, 2002), the second phase of the institutionalisation of the region’s process consists of providing symbols, including a name of the region, that are used to construct narratives of identity and make spatial symbolism part of daily life. This phase is the most important in terms of reproduction of the idea of region (Paasi 1986a), and it involves continuous negotiations as to how the region is being symbolically reproduced (Zimmerbauer 2011:246). Once given a name, in order to accomplish the symbolic shaping phase, symbolic meanings have to be assigned to the region. Distinctive qualities characterising the uniqueness of a region are perceived only during this phase as regional discourses and representations evolve (Zimmerbauer 2011). Within this context, political actors or intellectuals representing a certain elite, identify some symbols, such as cultural practices or elements of the nature and landscape, to create collective memories, to which identity feelings can be anchored. The result of this phase is what Paasi calls “regional consciousness”, which carries with it the history and traditions of the society (Paasi 1986, 1986a).

Central to both territorial and symbolic shaping phases is the concept of time to create continuity with a specific past, which does not diverge historically and symbolically from the regions of the present (Paasi 1986a). In the creation of identity, mainly group identity, the past is a key element (Hobsbawm 1997) as it can be

regarded as ensuring a long future, or providing coherence of the group (Sommer 2009). Providing a sense of continuity with the past creates the story of that region, a story that, in turn, becomes a mean of creating a regional consciousness. At a theoretical level, the artificial construction of identity made by intellectuals or politicians can be classified as an example of “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). This construction aimed at making invented, constructed and formally instituted traditions, which appear to be old and give a sense of continuity with the past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The passage from potential social practices to “collective memory” (Halbwachs 1950) or “cultural memory” (Assmann 1992) and the consciousness of identity was possible through a written codification of traditions and their diffusion via printing (Anderson 1991; Balzani 2001:210). Printing and media acted as a tool for repetition of habits and traditions. Repetition was a key component to impress habits: “the past, real or invented, […] imposes fixed practices, such as repetition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:2) The mechanism of repetition itself contributes to the process of any identity formation as “identity is the outcome of a complex series of social processes, and does not arise spontaneously but is learned and re-learned over time” (Preston 1997).

- *Institutional shaping*: this phase leads to regional institutions, which can be educational, political or other formal institutions (Zimmerbauer 2011:247). Paasi argues that “boundaries and symbols are not enough to mark regions; indeed institutions and formal organisations are able to maintain and reproduce territoriality and inherent symbolism” (Paasi 2001:18).

- *Establishment of the region*: this phase consists of the establishment of the region in the spatial structure and popular consciousness. At this stage, the uniqueness of the region is strongly established and its role stabilised (Zimmerbauer 2011:247).

Established regions can evoke the spirit of region, (Raagmaa 2001), called also *genius loci* (Crang 1998), or sense of place, which is rooted in people's subconsciousness and it represents a kind of deep and embracing feeling towards the region (Raagmaa 2001).

- De-institutionalisation: a fifth phase?: de-institutionalisation may occur: it represents the last phase of region-building process. In this case, once the institutionalisation of regions is complete, the possible options are either renewal, which means constant physical and symbolic changes, or de-institutionalisation that means disappearance due to regional reconstruction (Zimmerbauer 2011; Raagmaa 2002; Paasi 1986).

All four, and sometimes five, phases of the institutionalisation process contribute to the creation of established regions only when they have been entirely accomplished, although they may occur in no particular sequence. If it does not happen, regions may remain at the potential status or be completed only in some of their aspects. It is the case of many examples of cultural regionalisms, where the institutionalisation process has been completed in cultural terms only.

2.3. Cultural boundaries

Over the last decades, there has been particular confusion among the terms 'frontiers', 'borders' (Anderson 1996:intro) and 'boundaries', which have been often used wrongly as synonymous in the boundaries literature without any semantic difference (Jones 2008; Ackelson 2005). Jones (2008:180) affirms that the most appropriate term to use when referring to divisions in broad terms or as a semantic divider between categories is boundaries, which is in line with Erickson's use (1997:42) of cultural boundaries when referring to the presence of some kind of

cultural differences. Using the term boundaries to specify the limits of diffusions of peculiar elements of culture or living traditions, implies that cultural boundaries, which may not have any intersection with, or transposition into political and administrative realities, have a physical confirmation of their presence neither in the land nor in the bureaucratic system, such as landmarks, fortifications, official documentations or even geopolitical maps, but are perfectly perceived by people living within them.

As Cohen (quoted in Donnan and Wilson 1999) argues, boundaries are constructed by people, who want to distinguish themselves from others. In Cohen's view (1982), the emphasis is on people and their experience of boundaries: people make themselves aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries. This theme was taken up by Anderson (1996:96) who argued that “all human communities have, to a degree, defined themselves according to their self-perceived boundaries, and these boundaries have sometimes been self-consciously created to promote a sense of distinctiveness and separateness”. Within this context, cultural boundaries are at the perceptive level, they are not “merely, physical and empirical lines or zones that can be frozen on maps and atlases as naturalised entities. Instead, they are social, cultural and political constructs that are made meaningful and exploited by human beings as part of the institutionalisation process of territories” (Paasi 2001:21).

2.3.1 Cultural boundaries as part of the collective identity

Boundaries are everywhere in a society in diverging social practices and discourses (Paasi 2001). Boundaries become part of the collective identity, shared memories and the sense of continuity between generations (Paasi 2003). Boundaries may change as long as identity changes since identities are context-dependant.

Therefore, cultural boundaries and identity are not immutable but subject to changes due to the fact that they are continuously reinterpreted and reproduced (Urry 1995). This is often based on the fact that identities are usually fused with perpetually changing social practices and rituals (Paasi 2001:19). Boundaries are socially constructed: they are symbols and institutions making distinctions between social groups that have produced them (Paasi 2003).

Being context-dependent and expression of identity, cultural boundaries have peculiar characteristics. First of all, although the equation between a culture and a territory has dominated the discourse in anthropology in the past years (Erickson 1997; Ewing 1998; Goodenough 1981; Lugo 1997; Wax 1993), cultural boundaries are not fixed but they "are fluid and permeable" (Jones 2006, 2007, 2008). They can be seen as a "balloon, which responds to changes in internal and external air pressure" (Cohen 1969:108). Nowadays anthropologists no longer insist in bounding a culture by a territory like they used to do in the past: a culture does not have to fit into spatial containers claiming to be homogeneous within its borders and distinct from everything on the outside (Chang 1999). The association between culture and territory was necessary for the creation and consolidation of cultural identity only. When culture becomes part of the identity in an established manner, the link between culture and territoriality may vanish (Castells 2000; Rosenau 1996). In fact, elements of a culture are not exclusive characteristics of people living within a cultural region because "people are the carriers, movers, consumers, and inventors of a culture. When they move from one place to the other, they carry their cultures—their personal outlooks—with them" (Chang 1999:1). In doing so, people carry with them culture and identity, therefore the equation identity-locus sometimes fails (Castells 2000; Rosenau 1996). The last attribute of cultural boundaries is the lack of internal

homogeneity: “[H]uman cultures are neither necessarily coherent nor always homogeneous. More often than we usually care to think, our everyday lives are criss-crossed by border zones, pockets and eruptions of all kinds” (Rosaldo, quoted in Lugo 1997:51). Cultural boundaries, then are fluid (Jones 2006, 2007), untied from territoriality (Chang 1999; Castells 2000; Rosenau 1996) as they are socially constructed, and non-homogeneous internally (Rosaldo, quoted in Lugo 1997).

2.4. Identity formation process and regional identity

“It is seldom clear what an identity is” (Billig 1995:7). Defining identity is not a simple process as identity has not a material component, such as objects, nor it is located in bodies or the minds of individuals: it is unclear where it comes from and what is the mechanism of reproduction (Billig 1995). The process of identity formation consists of a complex series of social processes (Preston 1997), and may involve several concepts such as territoriality, historical and socio-cultural processes. Paasi argues that ideology, history and social transformations are all elements of identity, and they can be divided into spatially sensitive approaches. “Identity is not merely an individual or social category, but also – crucially – a spatial category, since the ideas of territory, self and “us” all require symbolic, socio-cultural and/or physical dividing lines with Others” (Paasi 2001:10). Identity has also psychological components, which are crucial in group behaviour as a nation exists only if a body of people feel themselves to be a nation (or region) and groups only exist if they identify themselves with the group (Billig 1995). Moreover, human beings have multiple identities, many selves, which are based on social classifications or cultural categories (Smith 1991), social context (Preston 1997), or even geographical components (Howard 2003). Identity is always a process of becoming by virtue of location in social, material,

temporal and spatial contexts (Edensor 2002); and it is also a process continually being remade in consistent ways through an internal-external dialectic involving self-definition and ascription by others at the same time (Jenkins, quoted in Edensor 2002). Moreover, identity is represented by emotional links between human beings and their spatial contexts (Paasi 2002a). Different social groups engage with places in different ways in accordance with person's features, such as gender, social class and ethnicity (Holloway and Hubbard 2001).

In accordance with Semian and Chromý (2014), the identity of individuals consists of both many layers, whose regional identity represents only one aspect, and two dimensions, individual and collective ones (Keating 1998), that intertwine and influence each other. Regional identity is then related to the collective dimension of identity encompassing both a sense of belonging and a sense of distinctiveness between social groups (Semian and Chromý 2014), which Paasi calls regional consciousness (Zimmerbauer and Paasi 2013). However, regional identity cannot be attributed only to the regional consciousness of individuals living in a region, but it also includes the material and symbolic features of the region as part of the ongoing social reproduction (Paasi 1986a:132) that create the identity (or image) of the region. It is interesting to note the distinction made by Paasi (2001, 2002, 2003) between regional identity and identity of a region, as outlined above. Identity of a region refers to narratives on several features, such as nature, culture, practices, which are associated with a specific territory and used to distinguish that territory or region from others. Regional identity is related to inhabitants, and consists of the identification of natural and cultural elements that have been classified, often stereotypically, by regional activists or organisations as constituents of the identity of the region (Paasi 2009). The concept of regional identity therefore is multifaceted: it

not only refers to identification and regional consciousness, but also to the features of a region (Zimmerbauer 2011).

An important part of the institutionalisation of regions process is the sense of belonging and identification. Identification means that a human being feels attached to a region and perceives it to be different to any other region for its characteristics (Zimmerbauer 2011). Identification is the key element to make any process of identity formation working: it is based on the use of images and words, narratives about characteristics and meanings associated with the places, and symbols for a place or region (Simon 2005:35). “Identity and identification are worked out through the issue of belonging and exclusion within some form of communal association” (Raagmaa 2001:6). Identification implies boundaries: to be a member of an in-group entails a categorical distinction from an out-group (Billig 1995). A key element of the process of identification is the establishment of some boundaries between self and others (Edensor 2002), being these boundaries marked or just perceived. Boundaries are means of organising social spaces and are part of the process of place-making (Massey and Jess 1995). Several authors (Mach 1993; Eisenstadt and Giesen 1995) affirm that boundaries and identity are two themes strictly related to each other. In the identity formation process, boundaries are used to distinguish a social collectivity – “us” – from “them” (others) (Paasi 2002; Conversi 1995). Collective identity is not made naturally but it is socially constructed and produced by the social construction of boundaries (Donnan and Wilson 1999). However, once a collective or regional identity is established, the link between culture and territory may fall (Castells 2000; Rosenau 1996). Although social spaces and identities change over time, the sense of belonging, as being it a basic social need (Maslow 1989), tend to remain constant like the need for food and safety (Raagmaa 2001:7). In this context, the process of

institutionalisation becomes highly symbolic, and highlights uniqueness and distinctiveness of the place or its characteristics (Saleh, quoted in Zimmerbauer 2011:247). As Paasi argues (2003), to create a regional identity, it is essential to operate at the cultural-historic level in addition to the political-economic one. The latter does not produce identification, therefore cultural-historic context is elaborated. Identification with a region is usually based on symbols experienced by the community as common and shared (Paasi 2007; Sörlin 1999).

Anderson, in his analysis of nation formation, argues that “nation-ness and nationalism are cultural artefacts of a particular kind” (1983:4). This approach can be translated from nationalism to regionalism and localism as well. Often regionalism, as well as nationalism, is not founded on objective criteria, such as language or ethnicity, but on perceptions that generate imagined elements supported by a strong psychological dimension (Billig 1995:10); it results in what Anderson defines as “imagined communities” (Anderson 1983). The diffusion of cultural elements, which can be seen as symbols or even myths sometimes artificially elaborated, makes people sharing them feel as people drawn into communities, which are “often invented and created as opposed to fabricated and dissimulated” (Sahlins, quoted in Wilson and Donnan 1998:32), or “imagined” to use Anderson’s word (1983) on the basis of social constructs and culture.

Regional identities have been defined as “mental products of societies’ interaction with their physical and social space and the mental reflection of the space in people’s mind and memories” (Raagmaa 2002:60). Regional identities also draw together personal memories and experience (Paasi 2002), and they are social constructs that are proclaimed through perceived characteristics or quality of a region, which are closely linked to the past, but at the same time continuously in flux (Simon, Huigen

and Groote 2009:411). “The construction of the meanings of communities and their boundaries occurs through narratives: stories that provide people with common experiences, history and memories, and thereby bind these people together. Narratives should not be comprehended only as modes of representation but also as discourses that crucially shape social practice and life” (Paasi 1998:75). Through narratives people understand and make sense of their social world and constitute social identities (Somers 1994). Narratives of regional identity are based on ideas and elements such as nature, landscape, culture, dialects, ethnicity or economic success or recession, which become either stereotypes or images of people and communities. All these elements are used contextually in practices and discourses to construct narratives of more- or less-closed imagined communities (Paasi 2003).

The character of a region may be expressed through food, dances, sport, festival (Edensor 2002), and mainly through the language, such as dialect (Billig 1995). “Things and spaces become layered with meaning, value and memory” (Tacchi 1998:26). Space is produced by inhabitants through habits, constant engagement with the world which relies on familiar routines (Edensor 2002). The repetition of daily, weekly and annual routines, how and when to eat, wash, play and work, constitutes a realm of common sense, offering a deep understanding of the link between culture and identity (Edensor 2002). Werlen (1993) defines this as “symbolic regionalism”: all actions, objects and place have a meaning, but actors do not distinguish the items themselves and their meanings. This equalisation hides the meaning of things, as the meanings become implicit in the actions, object, and place. We practise actions and recognise objects without linking them to their original meaning, and then they become part of our daily life.

2.5. Cultural regionalism and regional identity in Romagna

The process of institutionalisation of regions described by Paasi (1986) can be applied to Romagna, although it has developed here with some anomalies preventing Romagna from becoming an established and autonomous administrative, legal and political region. Romagna, then, represents an attempt of regionalism completed only in its cultural aspects, which have raised a strong feeling of cultural and regional identity among its inhabitants. The creation of the cultural regionalism in Romagna has followed all phases of the institutionalisation process.

Territorial shaping

The first attempt to give a territorial shaping to the region was undertaken by Rosetti in 1894 through his work titled *The Romagna: geography and history* (Rosetti 1995), which represents the first study that "defines persuasively the cultural and physical limits of Romagna" (Pivato, introduction to Rosetti 1995:vii) (Fig. 2.1).

Figure 2-1 Romagna in Rosetti's work.
(Photo by the author taken from Balzani and Zavoli 2003:77)

Prior to Rosetti's work, Romagna had never been clearly defined in terms of its limits, mainly because its borders had never been fixed due to continuous changes over history: from the Late Roman Republic, the area has experienced historical vicissitudes and many dominations, from Romans to Langobards and Franks (Berselli 1975; Susini 1957; Tabanelli 1980; Vasina 1970). Only during the Papal State's domain (751-1861 AD), when there was a need to define the region from a territorial point of view in order to govern and manage its administrative entities easily, was the Langobard's name *Romandìola* utilised to name this entity: Romagna was recognised as a unique entity. "The legation of Romagna, whose capital was the city of Ravenna, and made by the current cities of Ravenna, Forlì-Cesena and Rimini […] is an artificial product of the Papal State" (Balzani 2001:17).

Although Romagna had its territorial origins during the Papal State domination (especially from the 13th century), its borders were made clear and officially recognised only at the end of 19th century through the work of Rosetti. Balzani (2001:25) argues that the reason for this delay is in relation to the lack of coincidence between political, institutional and regional spaces: all previous dominations (Byzantine, Papal State and Napoleon's empire) never thought about defining the profile of Romagna as a pre-existing entity. Romagna had always been an area subject to external domain only, when its confines had changed over time in accordance with changes in its dominations. Moreover, from a political point of view, Romagna and its inhabitants had never had a need to trace political borders, because the inhabitants themselves did not feel part of a unique entity. No inner feeling or sense of belonging was developed at all, the concept of territoriality was inchoate, and the notion of identity was not elaborated yet.

Rosetti was the first person to try to determine and map out the geographical confines of the area and identify some boundaries. His study, dated 1894 (Rosetti 1995), had an encyclopaedic character drawing particular attention to the natural environment as well as the language, folklore, history and arts of Romagna (Balzani 2001). After Rosetti's work, many authors wrote about Romagna and located facts, stories and events within boundaries ascribed by Rosetti. A first territorial shape was then given to the region at the end 19th century, but it was not enough to create a regional identity, which was to be developed following the other phases of the institutionalisation process, mainly the symbolic one.

Symbolic shaping

Establishing the name of a region means assigning an identity to it: the more a region's name is used, the more popular the region is and characterised by a strong and established identity (Simon, Huigen and Groote 2009). In 751 AD, when the city of Ravenna was conquered by Langobards, they extended their domain across an area, which was called *Romandìola.* They used this name to mean one of the last territories to remain loyal and related to the Eastern Roman Empire and Byzantium/Constantinople (Rosetti 1995). The name Romandìola became official under the Frank's domination (Berselli 1975) and it was only during the domination of the Papal State that it was associated to some administrative entities. At the time, the name itself, which recalled the words Rome/Romans, had only an ideological meaning remembering the past greatness of the old Roman Empire. Romagna was already there but no identity sentiments were associated to it before the end of the 19th century. A first and weak attempt of symbolic shaping was undertaken by Placucci at the beginning of the 19th century (Balzani 2002). At that time, people living in the area, which will later be then called Romagna, had something in common,

which was not a sense of identity nor the idea of boundaries yet, but it was the sharing of cultural practices, way of living and "familiarity with some symbols and values that reassure and convey the sense of *us*" (Balzani 2002:2; Placucci 1818). Symbols and values, at that time, were embedded in cultural practices that substantiated a kind of Romagnoliness experienced probably unconsciously, without any confines or identity feeling (Balzani 2002). Therefore, it was not yet a regional identity, but it was the first step towards it. So, a rough idea of Romagnoliness and Romagna could be seen here, before any traces on maps, although at unconscious level, as Placucci highlighted in his work (Placucci 1818; Balzani 2001, 2002).

The real symbolic phase aiming at the creation of the Romagnolian regional identity was undertaken at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when some intellectuals, among them Spallicci was the leader, picked up the most prominent traits of the rurality and social practices in Romagna and codified it to create an established culture, and typical Romagnolian symbols, such as *plaustro* (a type of ox-cart – Fig.2.2) or *caveja* (a tool used on oxen to secure the towing – Fig.2.3), (Balzani 2001).

Figure 2-2. Plaustro.

(From the web, available at: http://www.giornalistinews.it/137/il-plaustro)

Figure 2-3. Caveja.

(From the web: http://www.studioautarchico.it/catalogo/caveja-romagnola-anni-1920/).

The aim of intellectuals, acting within the process of localisation of nation (Sahlins 1989), was to create a regional culture by claiming natural, cultural and historic common elements within the borders traced by Rosetti in 1894 (Rosetti 1995). “Romagnolian traditions themselves are very old and are based on local and rural habits rooted in the territory. However a regional reading of these traditions with regionalism purposes occurred only at the end of 19th century due to a detailed work undertaken by intellectuals, who have turned the local culture into regional one” to create the Romagnolian regional identity (Balzani and Zavoli 2003:80). Drawing upon Placucci and Rosetti’s work, intellectuals at the end of the 19th century completed the territorial and symbolic shaping resulting in the formation of a “regional consciousness” (Paasi 1986a) of Romagna, where continuity over time was ensured

to create Romagnolian regional identity: narratives and stories about the region began.

Institutional shaping

This phase is missing (or has partially developed) in terms of administrative, legal and political aspects since no institutions were responsible for reproducing distinctiveness between regions and social groups, with the exception of intellectuals between the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. Therefore, this phase has been accomplished in cultural terms only: “administrative regions may gain formal status in the administrative territorial system. However, some regions may have a strong cultural position and identity in the spatial consciousness of citizens (and outsiders), even if they do not have any formal role in territorial administrative structure” (Paasi 2001:18). The work undertaken by those intellectuals has created a proper apparatus aiming at the codification of cultural practices to be presented as Romagnolian traditions, and their diffusion among local people to enforce the sense of belonging towards an artificially created regional identity. This process is in line with Hobsbawm and Ranger’s idea of invented traditions (1983), where cultural and social practices were codified to appear old in order to give a sense of continuity with the past, to which Romagnolian identity could be anchored. As Wistrich wrote (1994), people generally need clear and tangible concepts in order to develop a sense of belonging. The codification of practices into a proper culture was possible through the establishment of “cultural memory” (Assmann 1992; Balzani 2001, 2002) or “collective memory” (Halbwachs 1950). On the other side, the diffusion of those cultural elements was possible through printing (Anderson 1991; Balzani 2001), defined by Balzani as “print regionalism” (2002) undertaken by Romagnolian intellectuals, poets and dedicated magazines, such as *La Piê,* founded

in 1920, to propagate and repeat the idea of Romagna as a cultural region having a proper cultural identity. In fact, at the beginning of the 20th century, an extensive literature on the region flourished and recognised Romagna as a distinctive entity (Pivato, in Rosetti 1995:viii; Placucci 1818; Bagli 1885; Gambi 1969). To this period is dated the definition of Romagna as a "state of soul" coined by the Romagnolian poet Spallicci (1921) to indicate the special relationship Romagnolians had with their land, their habits and traditions rather than boundaries or administrative institutions.

Establishment of the region

In administrative terms, this phase appears to be missing in Romagna due to the incomplete realisation of the third phase. However, this phase has been the result of the work done by intellectuals, who made Romagna an example of cultural regionalism based on a strong regional identity. The result of this phase was that at the beginning of the 20th century, "when the cultural regionalism apparatus was established, nobody would wonder how and when Romagna of folklore was born" (Balzani 2002:3). Romagna as a cultural region with a proper regional identity was established.

De-institutionalisation

This phase pre-announces two possible outcomes in terms of cultural endings of Romagna: disappearance or renewal. In 2009 the territory of Romagna went through a process of physical renewal, when seven municipalities originally belonging to the confining region of Marche, requested to have their administrative functionalities to be legally transferred to the region of Emilia-Romagna, on the basis of cultural affinities and sense of belonging toward the Romagna area (Gazzetta Ufficiale n.188, 14 August 2009). Nevertheless, foreseeing the outcomes of this phase is hard:

although a complete disappearance is not impossible, it still remains unlikely, and a renewal of Romagnolian culture seems to be more predictable, at least on the assumption that, just like any culture, being fluid and dynamic, changes are likely to happen over time.

In Romagna the process of institutionalisation has been fulfilled in relation to territorial and symbolic shaping in all its aspects: in fact, territorial boundaries, name and symbols have been attributed to the region from the end of 19th century, as stated above. The institutional phase seems to be partially complete, that means it has been accomplished in cultural terms only. From the end of the 19th century there were indeed actors (although not defined as “institutions”, but intellectuals) working to spread the artificially created identity and reproduce distinctiveness between Romagna and the “others”: this activity laid at the cultural level only, without any correspondence with the administrative level. The missed fulfilment of the entire institutionalisation process, but its fulfilment from a cultural point of view only, has resulted in the formation of a region, which can be understood as an example of cultural regionalism. It would be a mistake to interpret it as a failure in the process of region’s building as it has generated a strong sense of cultural identity, which still survives among inhabitants of Romagna, although artificially created for political ends. Territorial and symbolic shaping phases, but also the institutional shaping at cultural level, have raised fundamental themes in the determination of cultural regionalism and identity in Romagna, such as boundaries and transmission of identity through the everyday life, which have generated a strong sense of cultural identity allowing the definition of Romagna as an example of cultural regionalism with a proper and strong cultural identity.

It is argued that despite the fact that the Romagnolian culture was constructed and inserted into “ready boundaries” made available from Rosetti’s work, the perception of feeling this area as a different part from the rest of the region, was already in place before the mechanical activity of intellectuals, and pushed Rosetti and other authors to map out the limits of the area (Rosetti 1995; Gambi 1969; Balzani 2001). It is said that after the Risorgimento, the Italian nationalist Massimo D’Azeglio declared “we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians” (Hobsbawm, quoted in Billig 1995:44). I consider this discourse applicable to the Romagnolian regionalism as well. Before the 19th century there still was a distinction between Romagna as a territory and Romagna as identity of its inhabitants. The germ of identity was there, although it had not blossomed yet. It was done at the end of the 19th century for political ends, and it was reinforced after the Second World War as well (Balzani 2001). At that time, it was perceptible in social practices and habits that were not culture yet. They were made culture by virtue of the artificial process of localisation. In fact, not all nations or regions have been created de-novo (Smith 1991, 2001), and people felt “people-hood before the age of nationhood” (Billig 1995:26), and also before the formation of regions.

The outcomes of the institutionalisation of Romagna were outstanding: institutionalisation made Romagna an example of cultural regionalism based on a strong regional identity – image of the region and regional consciousness were the results of the territorial and symbolic shaping – conveyed through heritage, mainly intangible, (as emerged from the pilot-study), and conferred it the appellative of an imagined community.

2.6. Romagnolian identity in the invented Romagna

As stated previously, identity formation is a complex issue, which involves different components ranging from material and geographical ones, to social and psychological ones (Smith 1991; Preston 1997, Howard 2003). An identity can be created by using common and shared symbols coming from the cultural-historic level (Paasi 2003) and social spaces (Raagmaa 2002) in order to produce an identification (Paasi 2007). Elements of nature, landscape, cultural practices, and languages can produce narratives aiming at embedding places and practices with values and meanings, which if continuously repeated, create a collective memory making people sharing these elements feel as gathered together and experience a sense of belonging. The institutionalisation process of Romagna was able to gather all these components to create the regional identity of its inhabitants. How was the Romagnolian artificial identity created? It was the result of the image of the region and the regional consciousness artificially created at the end of the 19th century, when intellectuals collected the old rural traditions and merged them into what will be called “regional culture” (Balzani and Zavoli 2003). This process was feasible in Romagna in that period for two main reasons: 1) mass literacy was spread in that period. 2) a sort of reaction towards the nationalism raised following the *Risorgimento*, where localisms tend to opposite to a hegemonic, and national, culture. The result is that all old traditions have become mass identity (Balzani and Zavoli 2003). This phenomenon was not specific to Romagna but it was spread in the whole Italian peninsula. However in Romagna it was quite remarked for political reasons: first of all, Romagna wanted to abandon the negative myth of “dangerous region” where politics was associated to violence (Balzani 1995; Gambi 1969) and wanted to move towards the idea of peaceful and rural area, where politics, rather than being associated with violence, was a constituent element of the Romagnolian

identity (Balzani 1995). The second reason regards the myth that Mussolini after 1922 wanted to convey to the Italian people about the greatness of his home land (Romagna indeed) representing the sum of all the Italic qualities, such as the love for the family, the work, the rurality of the landscape, and the civil virtues (Balzani and Zavoli 2003).

All these elements contributed to the formation of the regional consciousness. Regional consciousness comes from the territorial and symbolic phases of the institutionalisation of region process, whose identification is one part (Paasi 1986a). The process of identification in Romagna generated a new image of the region. In order to attach a sense of belonging to the new image, an artificial procedure needed to be put in place: the creation of an identity as a revival, as if something ancient were being continued. Many ancient traditions were invented or social practices were presented as they were old. Through the invention of traditions, identities were being created as if they were “natural” (Billig 1995; Hobsbawm 1992). In Romagna the discourse on identity has included temporal and spatial elements in order to be meaningful for the social community (Newman and Paasi 1998; Paasi 2001). The temporal elements were given by the production and repetition of narratives and memories from the past, which were codified into culture, and manifestations of culture, such as language, norms and values and world-view are used to constitute cultural identity. The spatial elements were given both by maps of the territory of Romagna, and the production of academic and popular literature (Placucci 1818; Bagli 1885), which associated the territory of the region with its name (Balzani 2001; Balzani and Zavoli 2003). Spatial and temporal dimensions came together in the symbolic narratives of Romagna, and acted as a glue in the integration of the social community (Newman and Paasi 1998; Paasi 2001). This is how, at the end of 19th

century, the Romagnolian identity was created: through the processes of institutionalisation, identification and symbolisation. The latter has allowed the production of images, which could stand for the region and its identity. These images and symbols were continuously repeated to the inhabitants in order to impress habits and turn social practices into culture (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Preston 1997). In this way, cultural practices or places were given new meanings and new narratives, and were codified and turned into "regional culture". This process has created the Romagnolian identity, which is still perceived nowadays: it is a strong aspect of Romagnolian people's identity as the fieldwork has demonstrated.

The identification process is part of the institutionalisation process (Paasi 1986): it serves to differentiate any regions from its characteristics (Zimmerbauer 2011). It also implies boundaries between self and others (Simon 2005). So boundaries are important to define a regional identity. How can this statement accommodate the literature on it stating that confines of Romagna are quite vague? The answer to this ostensible inconsistency lies in the regional identity formation process itself. In fact, once a cultural identity is created, and that culture becomes part of identity, the link between culture and territory may vanish as it has completed its scope. "At the end of the 19th century, once the establishment of the cultural regionalism is finished, nobody will wonder how and when the Romagna of folklore was born" (Balzani 2002:3). The feeling raised from that process, was that Romagna had always been out there and inside people. What is left, however, are cultural boundaries, which are flexible (Jones 2006, 2007) and untied from territoriality (Chang 1999; Castells 2000; Rosenau 1996). In Romagna, following the association of cultural practices within the confines traced by Placucci and Rosetti, and the establishment of the Romagnolian cultural identity, the link between identity and the territory has fallen and left the

perception of Romagna, once again, in the minds of people. The idea of imprecise confines, associated to the image of region living primarily in the minds of its inhabitants, is confirmed in the current literature as well: Cavina (2012) affirms that Romagna is a land invented by its inhabitants, and Balzani (2017) correctly affirms that Romagna is where people perceive themselves as Romagnolian, without being stuck to any borders.

It follows that Romagna is a state of mind, an abstract concept elaborated from the daily life and cultural practices turned into culture, which means heritage, as an artificial and political product. Narratives of regional identity were based on ideas and elements such as nature, landscape, culture, dialects: all these elements were used contextually in practices and discourses to construct narratives of imagined communities (Paasi 2003; Anderson 1991). The idea of Romagna has been, and it still is, supported by real and legendary elements, sometimes invented or distorted through the use of collective memory, which have generated the Romagnolian identity within the imagined community of Romagna. The next step is then to enter in the heritage studies field and explore the values and meanings of heritage today to find how it underpins the senses of place and belonging among locals, and how it is legitimated in terms of identity supporter.

2.7. Conclusions

The concepts of a region's formation and regional identity have been investigated at the beginning of the chapter. It has been outlined that often regions are the result of an institutionalised process, which can be complete or partially accomplished (Paasi 2001). When this happens on the basis of culture and cultural elements, be they real

or invented, they originate a cultural regional identity with a strong sense of belonging and affiliation among local members, who are gathered together in imagined communities (Anderson 1983). I have demonstrated that Romagna is a cultural region as its institutionalisation process has been accomplished in cultural terms only. Many actors have played a significant role in giving a territorial, symbolic and institutional shaping to this land. This process has resulted in the formation of the Romagnolian identity based on natural and cultural elements. The pilot study provided information on Romagnolian identity as a strong feeling still perceived by its inhabitants, and it is based mainly on intangible expressions of heritage, such as cultural practices, dialect, typical food, the landscape, the way of acting and behaving and the character of people. These outcomes have addressed the main questions researched in the core fieldwork and are presented after the explanation of the methodology used and the literature review chapters.

3. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will explain which methodologies and methods have been used to undertaken the research, which can be considered as a cross-discipline project falling within the field of heritage studies. It is also related to several academic studies such as anthropology, human and cultural geography, but it does not embrace completely only one of these disciplines. Reasons for choosing methodology and methods will be explained as well: at the heart of any decisions on that, is the philosophical position of constructivism, which underpins the whole research. This paradigm informs the methodology (that means the study of the method) and methods used – ethnographic research based on participant observation, open-ended interviews, field notes and diary, and questionnaires. In the second part of this chapter, I will explain in detail the research techniques adopted and how the analysis of data has been carried out.

3.2. Heritage studies: an introduction

This research falls into the field of heritage studies, a recently new discipline, whose boom was between the 1970s and 1980s. Heritage studies show an eclectic nature: in fact, it is an interdisciplinary field of study, to which many other disciplines contribute, such as anthropology, psychology, archaeology, architecture, art, history, tourism and sociology (Carman and Sørensen 2009). The limit of the field as an interdisciplinary field is the lack of proper methods of investigation, which have to be

borrowed from other disciplines, such as interviews and participant observation from ethnography when investigating people (Carman and Sørensen 2009).

From the pilot study it has emerged a need of in-depth analysis of several themes in relation to the identity formation process within the local community of Romagna, and how heritage reflects the sense of identity of the local community. Understanding the mechanism of identity formation interlinked with cultural heritage in Romagna, and its legitimation, are the principal questions of this project. However, the author believes that analysing only this aspect would not provide a comprehensive perception of the relation between heritage and regional identity; therefore a further comparison study with tourists' perceptions of heritage and place has been undertaken to get insider/outsider perspectives. To comprehend local identity and the perception of space in relation to heritage, it has been thought that engagement with the local communities was necessary to observe their behaviour and traditions from an inside view. Therefore, a full immersion into the local community life, traditions, habits, social practices and thoughts, as well as people's behaviours and feelings was vital to the research. On the other side, good knowledge of non-locals visiting heritage sites and their perceptions of the territory, sense of place and monuments selected for their visits was recommended for the comparison study.

Due to the predominant anthropological nature of this research, its social aspects, character and themes, such as social lives and people's behaviours and feelings as regards their identity and space, the research could appropriately be based on ethnography and fall within the broad field of the social science. "Social science research is concerned with people and their life contexts, and the philosophical questions relating to the nature of knowledge and truth (epistemology), values (axiology) and being (ontology), which underpin human judgements and activities"

(Somekh and Lewin 2005:1). Somekh and Lewin (2005) have defined social science as something particular and peculiar because it is different from natural and medical science research as “they find principles applicable in general” (2005:3), whereas social science focuses on people as both individual and group, along with their behaviours within cultures. Based on human experience and behaviour, which cannot be reduced to predictable variables (Blumer 1967), and may vary widely socially and historically, it is often affirmed that research in social science might have a certain level of unpredictability depending on behaviour of human beings (Somekh and Lewin 2005). Within the heritage studies field, the dynamic relation among people, places, identity and heritage can be investigated by using ethnography techniques taken from anthropology.

“A person’s identity can be then understood as an assemblage of thoughts, feelings, memories, ways of doing things”, which do not fit in a dedicated pattern, never flux and never pure (Crang and Cook 2007). Therefore, it is clear that there is no “pure subject” to use Crang’s words (Crang and Cook 2007) to investigate, nor a pure discipline to search into. Hence, declaring the project as a cross-discipline research means acknowledging its eclectic character, and, above all, recognising that a unique discipline cannot provide required tools and backgrounds for comprehensive understandings of the case study.

3.3. Constructivism as a paradigm

Once explained the reasons why the project can be defined as a cross-discipline project falling into heritage studies, and prior to proceeding with the definition of the methods, it is necessary to draw some considerations on the methodology – defined

as the “theory of the method” (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001) – which is informed by a specific philosophical paradigm and, in turn influences methods.

In accordance with Willis’s words (2007:8) “a paradigm is thus a comprehensive belief system, world view, or framework that guides research and practice in a field”. The paradigm is also defined as “the theoretical mindset or collection of beliefs that underlie researcher’s approach” (Kinash 2007:6), or even the researcher’s “basic set of beliefs that define their worldview” (Goodson and Phillimore 2004:34). Following these definitions, defining which paradigm underlines this research is necessary: further to a careful literature review, and based on the author’s personal belief, the paradigm of constructivism has been selected.

The philosophical position of constructivism implies that knowledge is socially produced. Pioneers of constructivism as philosophical position are Guba, Lincoln and Denzin (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Guba 1990; Lincoln and Guba 1985), who have developed it and classified all paradigms through their ontology, epistemology and methodology (Guba 1990). “From a philosophical perspective, a paradigm comprises a view of the nature of reality (ontology), [...] a related view of the type of knowledge that can be generated and standards for justifying it (epistemology); and a disciplined approach to generating that knowledge (methodology)” (Taylor and Medina 2013:1).

If we apply constructivism to ontology, epistemology and methodology, it follows that ontological constructivism means that knowledge is a social reality, which is valued by people and come to light through individual interpretation only. In terms of relationship between the researcher and the knowledge researched (epistemology), the researchers’ view will depend on their ontological view: embracing the position of Smith (1998) that there is no real world that exists independently of the relationships

between researchers and their subjects, it implies that the social world is something that is not fixed but made up of competing social constructions, representations and performances, where the researcher's position is vital: he or she can assume a subjective approach leading to see knowledge as something interpreted by individuals. Epistemological constructivism then implies that the researcher is part of the researched; they are "seen as central to the research process and their voices, along with the voices of their informants, are often included" (Rakic 2008:96).

The last statement requires further discussions on the position of the researcher and demands clarifications on the style used for explaining the fieldwork and its results. The position of the researcher, being central in the binary researcher-researched, cannot be ignored, then it needs to emerge. The only way to make it speak is to use the first person style. The debate on using a formal style – writing style – or the first person to write on ethnography is still actual (Butler 2001; Hertz 1997). Statements supporting a formal style are based on its logic, clear structure, which encourages distance and objectivity. However, as seen above, the main aim of an ethnographic fieldwork is not objectivity. Rakic argues that the best narrative style which reflects the paradigm of constructivism, is the first person narrative because it acknowledges the active role of the researcher in the creation and representation of knowledge (Rakic 2008) and it aligns with the philosophical paradigm of constructivism. For these reasons, description of the fieldwork and its outcomes will be illustrated by adopting the first person narrative.

Coming back to the theoretical theme of ontological and epistemological constructivism, it "defines knowledge, reality as well as many other concepts as socially constructed and calls for subjectivity, pluralism and relativism in the assessment of reality" (Rakic 2008:115). Being the research based on what people

think, how they behave, and their perceptions of the place and society they live, and being personal identity an intimate and subjective process as well as it is heritage (Howard 2003; Smith 2006), the paradigm underling it is constructivism, where each individual constructs their own reality, and where there are multiple interpretations. Constructivism holds that reality is individually and collectively constructed and local (Guba and Lincoln 2005:193), and assumes that reality, and knowledge for that matter, are socially constructed phenomena, and that there can exist multiple, often conflicting constructions (Schwandt 1994:128).

The philosophical position just described in turn affects the methodology. As Rakic argues (2008:94) “the particular ontological and epistemological standpoints that researcher adopts will only inform their methodology and methods rather than strictly prescribe them”. Methodology, which is informed by the paradigm of constructivism, refers to how the researcher goes about finding out knowledge and carrying out the research. It is a strategic approach, rather than techniques and data analysis (Wainwright 1997). The ontological and epistemological constructivism has informed the methodology and methods adopted for the project, which means ethnographic research primarily based on qualitative methods. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have argued that qualitative research privileges no single methodological practice over another, thus they do not have a specific theory or paradigm of their own (Cheu-Jey 2012:404). It has been decided independently to adopt primarily but not exclusively qualitative methods as they fit properly both the philosophical position of constructivism and the main research questions. “Qualitative methodologies do not start with the assumption that there is a pre-existing world that can be known, but see the social world as something dynamic and changing, always being constructed through the intersection of cultural, economic, social and political processes” (Limb

and Dwyer 2001:6). Human experience is characterised by complexity, therefore the idea of “one size fits all theories” (Somekh and Lewin 2005:3) cannot be applied.

3.4. Ethnography

There are several definitions of ethnography: it is referred as the discipline providing a thick description of everyday life and practice, or as writing about people and understanding how people interpret their world (Hustler 2005); or even as a discipline to understand parts of the world more or less as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who live them out (Crang and Cook 2007). Whatever definitions we want to adopt, central themes are people, everyday life and their understanding and interpretation of [their] world. In more detail, ethnography is linked to the notion of people as meaning-makers (Hustler in Somekh and Lewin 2005:16), and comprises the study of how people interpret their world along with the need to understand particular cultural worlds.

Researching society and culture has always raised arguments in favour or against the use of scientific methods: being the human behaviour unpredictable, it has been argued that it is impossible to study it by using rigorous and statistical methods. In fact, Walsh (2004:218) argues that ethnography and scientific methods are opposed: ethnography “belongs to the theoretical traditions [where] facts of society and culture belong to a different order from those of nature”, whereas scientific methods are related to objectivity, neutrality and generated data untouched by human hands. The dualism between ethnography and qualitative methods on one side, and scientific methods on the other side is rooted in the juxtaposition between positivism and naturalism, to use Hammersley’s words: “positivism is based on scientific methods

and is concerned with testing theories; on the contrary, naturalism proposes that, as far as possible, the social world should be studied in its natural state, undisturbed by researchers (no artificiality like experiments), therefore, the social world cannot be understood in terms of casual relationships or social events under universal laws" (Hammersley 2007:103).

For this unpredictability and uncertainty, ethnographic studies have seen fluctuating fortune over the last centuries (Hammersley 2007; Mullings 1999). Nowadays, studies using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods to undertake social surveys concerning with people, such as interviews and self-completed questionnaires are quite widespread and have been recognised as valid and reliable (Seale and Filmer 2004), especially whether a research design is produced in advance (Kelly 2004). Moreover, the integration of different techniques and a combination of methods should be encouraged as it can answer different research questions (Limb and Dweyer 2001) and "produce a fuller interpretation and understanding of your research questions" (Valentine 2001:45-46).

Despite the recent emphasis towards ethnography and qualitative research (Schwandt 2003), it is undeniable that the discipline has some limits, as Hammersley and Atkinson have argued (Hammersley 2007). Limits are related to the inability of the discipline to study past events, and its weakness in dealing with long-scale cases. However, due to the nature of this research, which is contemporary and contextualised in the territory – identity and heritage processes that occur in a specific place (Romagna) and in a specific time (now) - ethnography has been considered the best research methodology to use. Ethnography cannot assume to find absolute truth, but its ability is to engage with real world messiness and understand why many versions of an event are produced. In accordance with Crang'

word, ethnographers must involve the struggle to produce inter-subjective truths and understand that stories are not means of mirroring the world, but the means through which the world is constructed, understood and acted by a group of people (Crang and Cook 2007). In addition to these explanations, undertaking an ethnographic fieldwork has been also suggested by partial results that came up from the pilot study, which have highlighted three important components of the research itself: time (attitudes and activities may vary over time), people and contexts, which represent the three dimensions of sampling (Walsh 2004).

3.5. Positionality of the researcher: recognising reflexivity

In accordance with Guba and Lincoln (2005:195) affirming that knowledge is co-created between the researcher and the researched, the positionality of the researcher becomes an important variable able to influence the researched, and consequently it is necessary to define it. Researchers are tool towards interpretation and this implies that they bring unavoidable interpretations and cultural orientations into the picture (Somekh and Lewin 2005:20); their position is vital in producing knowledge (Crang 1998). “A researcher’s knowledge is therefore always partial, because his/her positional (perspective shaped by his/her unique mix of race, class, gender, nationality, sexuality and other identifiers) as well as location in time and space will influence how the world is viewed and interpreted” (Mullings 1999:337).

Although knowledge is partial, it does not prevent it from generating and conferring power, which needs to be distributed between researchers and participants in order to establish a balanced relationship (Somekh and Lewin 2005:3-4). Often power is seen to be distributed unevenly between two sides: it is often perceived to be held by

the researcher at the expense of the researched (Skelton 2001:104). This imbalance, which is unavoidable, can be corrected by making efforts to establish truthful relationships with participants. Within this context, the positionality of researcher is extremely important as it might influence the research outcomes as well. “Part of our honesty and integrity as researchers must be based upon considerations about ourselves, our positionalities and our identities and what role they may play in our research” (Skelton 2001:89).

So far, it has been argued that in order to establish a balanced relationship with participants and get access to particular viewpoints, one of the considerations a researcher needs to make while producing a research design is to decide how she or he wants to undertake the research in terms positionality (Archibald and Crnkovich 1995; Hill-Collins 1990). This means that researchers often oscillate between two opposite points: insider and outsider. The choice of one of these positions entirely depends on the type of relationship the researcher wants to establish with participants as their positionality may have an impact on participants themselves (Mohammad 2001). Both positions have advantages and disadvantages, which have to be carefully considered before making any decisions about it. Nowadays, the dualism insider/outsider has become less intense: Mullings, for instance, rather than adopting the dualism insider/outsider, refers to positional space, where researcher and participant encounter and share the same spaces that are not informed by identity-based differences (Mullings 1999:340). It is important to identify positional spaces; they are seen as neutral spaces (Katz 1992; Crossley 1998) where participants can feel free to share information, and researcher can show impartiality. To sum up, what matters is that in order to create positional spaces, researchers

have to think carefully about how to introduce themselves, and how to keep these spaces in balance during interviews.

How I presented myself

Following all the considerations made above on positioning, it emerges that my position is an advantage within the project. In fact, I can be considered both as an insider and outsider at the same time: I belong to the local community and thus I can be seen as an insider inspiring trust and sharing knowledge; at the same time, due to my absence from Romagna for the last 13 years, I have developed a critical sensibility towards the researched allowing me to see the whole context in a slightly detached manner and not to be overwhelmed by the locality. The dualism insider/outsider has not been solved towards one side or the other, but both components have alternatively emerged during the fieldwork depending on who I was interviewing (local community members or tourists) and locations. The shift from one position to the other one, depending on the case, leads to finding and keeping a positional space as neutral as possible.

To get participants involved, a trustful relationship with them had to be established (Hammersley 2007; Walsh 2004): I presented myself as an Italian and Romagnolian researcher from the University of Birmingham (UK). When explaining the project, I tried to be as clear as possible; I explained my intentions to ask participants clear and simple questions about their feelings and thoughts on Romagna and its heritage. Several times people from both the local community and tourists wanted to be ensured that interviews were not about history and/or history of art as they admitted a lack of knowledge in these fields. After ensuring participants on the nature of the research, the majority of local members were slightly surprised and at the same time

proud of being the subject of an overseas research, whereas tourists generally did not make any comments about it. When interviewing a few acquaintances, they were not surprised by my research but wanted more information about the topic and what I wanted to achieve through the fieldwork. In all cases, I tried to explain clearly the scope of my research without giving too many details as it could influence participants and suggest unconsciously not honest answers to my questions. Moreover, to minimise the risk, I made clear that there were no right or wrong answers; I just wanted to know the feelings and thoughts of participants on a few themes. The alternation between insider/outsider positions to find the neutral positional space cannot be described in details for any interviews: generally, I tried to follow the natural flow of any interviews on the basis of empathy. My efforts aimed at keeping the researched positional spaces as neutral as possible in order to allow more freedom for participants to share information. In some cases, being an insider led me to catching some nuances that, once deepened, gave interesting inputs; in other cases, being an outsider allowed me to ask questions naively as a person not immersed into the locality, in other words, a person who needed more explanations about some concepts. This approach was useful in order to catch emphasis and pathos that very often underlined local members' words and feelings when talking about their beloved traditions and land.

In a few occasions, despite my clear presentation, tourists were suspicious or did not want to spend time answering my questions. A number of tourists claimed they had been previously questioned by other researchers defined as "my colleagues". I had to explain that I was working on my own and ensure them that other questioners were undertaking a different research. Before getting tourists' consent for interviewing, I submitted to them an information sheet and consent forms (both forms are reported

in Appendix A), which will be described in the ethical issues paragraph below. Once past the first feeling of diffidence, tourists agreed to be interviewed. On the contrary, local community members were more suspicious: I have observed that a few times their diffident behaviour resulted in denying consent.

3.6. Ethical issues

Once introduced myself, I sought for participants consent to take part to the research. This was an extremely sensitive step as involved ethical issues. “As a result of its focus on people, ethical issues are centrally important in social science research” (Somekh and Lewin 2005:5). Ethical issues mainly refer to informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity of people involved, and ethical practice is often described as doing no harm (Simons 2005:56). Understanding and agreement of both parts on ethical issues are central to any social research as the relationship between researchers-participants should be based on trust and honesty (Somekh and Lewin 2005:4), because moral and ethical principles are often involved. To comply with regulations and fulfil researcher’s ethical responsibilities, I have firstly prepared an information sheet that explained in details the project, its aims and objectives and invited participants to contact myself or my supervisor by email in case they wish to have further information on the project or decided to withdraw. The information sheet explained reasons why people were asked to take part to the research. Information was provided on participants’ right of withdrawal. It was also made clear that participants could not incur in any risks in participating to the research, and confidentiality and anonymity issues were clarified.

The information sheet gave details on confidentiality and anonymity. Confidentiality is considered an extremely important issue in social research: here, confidentiality was maintained by not asking names during interviews or, in case of acknowledge of people, by using pseudonymous (code number) during the transcription phase. This prevented me from identifying participants when reading and analysing interviews' transcripts. I have always ensured participants that any data collected was for the purposes of the research and that only me or my supervisor could have access to it; no one else could identify participants unless they wanted to be identified, such as some politicians, who were pleased to be recognised. Moreover, I made clear that all digital data related to interviews, scanned questionnaires, recording, scanned field notes, scanned notes from personal observation, photos and videos, was stored in my personal laptop, which was password protected. Paper documentation, once scanned, was stored in a locked cupboard in my house. I also ensured participants that the only person having an access to digital and paper material was me. Finally, I informed that this material would be stored beyond the duration of the whole project as this data might be used in future for further research and publications.

As regards anonymity, the research was not anonymous. In the course of the project, I have asked personal information, such as age, gender, cultural background, education and type of work as they were essential for my research. This approach has not ensured anonymity as data relating to participants could be traced back. In addition, I have interviewed policy-makers and officers, whose identity could be revealed. In some cases, tourists spontaneously let me know specific details, such as the city where they came from. A slightly different approach was adopted for local community members in terms of their names: some of them were my acquaintances;

therefore I knew their names and other information. Once again anonymity could not be guaranteed, but it was confidentiality.

Once read the information sheet and asked whether participants agreed to proceed with the interview, I gave participants the consent form to sign as per agreement. By signing it, participants were confirming that they understood what explained in the information sheet, they had the opportunity to consider information provided by me and asked for further questions; they were giving permission to record interviews by audio tape or video tape (the latter was not used in the end) and to use data obtained for the purpose of the research. The majority of people I have asked to take part to the project accepted, however, I have to admit that when asking to sign off the consent form, the well-known Italian suspicious nature came out: once I explained the project, some people denied participation; the majority of them, however, accepted but was reluctant to sign the agreement form. Many times I had to ensure that their signature was merely related to ethical issues, and I struggled to convince them that they were not committing themselves to anything else but just talking and allowing me to record and use their words for the purpose of my study. In the end, all participants signed the consent form, otherwise they could have not been interviewed; just a few people denied so that they were not interviewed. Only four people from the local community signed the form but refused to be recorded by not ticking the recording/taping box in the consent form. In these cases, I had to take notes of their interviews by hands and transcript them immediately after the interview was finished in order not to lose important information.

Another significant ethical issue is participants' access and recruitment. Being the aim of this research to get in contact and interview as many people as possible without compromising qualitative outcomes, the purpose was to have a good sample

of male and female participants, social classes, gender, age (excluding minors), level of education, cultural background, level of fitness and affiliation both of inhabitants and tourists. Participants had to be over 18 years old and no minors were involved. People with disabilities, which might prevent them from understanding what was going on, were also excluded. It happened once that during an interview, a tourist I was interviewing showed signs of not full comprehension. As soon as I understood that the interviewee did lack capacity to consent, I jumped to the last questions to terminate the interview gently. In this case, when the interviewee left the site, any data collected was destroyed. Consent form was marked as void and shredded once returned home.

Recruitment of participants was based on volunteers, who were taken from both the local community members and tourists visiting heritage sites. Gaining access to people and their recruitment was a twofold process: in the first instance, I developed early contacts with the organisations managing heritage sites and with some acquaintances, such as family and friends. In both cases, I have tried to cast my net of social relations. As explained above, among local community members I began by interviewing acquaintances to get more confidence in my approach and gain an immediate degree of openness; acquaintances in turn made their acquaintances aware of my research and tried to involve them as well. People connected with me at the first stage, were recruited from the University of Bologna-Ravenna, or members of my family, or neighbours or were just friends. When arranging for interviews to take place, I left the interviewees decide the venue and left flexibility in terms of day and time. This approach was to test willingness of local members to take part to the project, and has provided a good starting point to expand networking relationships. Once tested my approach, in order to recruit randomly participants from local

community, I visited and stood at characteristic places, such as associations, clubs and societies, restaurants, street markets and shade markets, public libraries, main squares and food kiosks; I also took part to social events, such as village feasts, where locals used to get together.

Recruitment of tourists was to some extend easier: in advance of the fieldwork, I contacted the organisations managing the most famous heritage sites to ask “gate-keepers”, to use Hammersley’s words (2007), for permission to undertake interviews at their sites. I contacted them by email first: I presented myself, the project and explained what I aimed to do. Permissions were agreed after a few weeks. Once I was in Italy, I arranged for face to face meetings: I was toured around sites by officers, introduced to the staff as a researcher, and employees were told to help me if I needed. While recruiting people, I did not feel particularly worried about the number of people I had to interview: I wanted to gain an illustrative sample of both the community members and tourists, but I did not feel any pressure in reaching a high number of interviews as I opted for depth against coverage. I wanted to be sure to have a wide range of views represented and to obtain good data rather than much data. “While it is important to gain a range of views to achieve full understanding, qualitative research does not aim to be statistically representative and so [...] it will be the depth and richness of your encounters rather than the number of people who participate in the study that matters” (Valentine 2001:46). Always priority has been given to quality rather than quantity in order to develop a detailed analysis and valid understanding.

Another theme related to recruiting people and always excluded from any theorisation of the social construction of knowledge (Chih Hoong 2003), is the spatial context where interviews are carried out. Being my research made up of two types of

participants (local community members and tourists), the selection of the spatial context where to carry out interviews was different. For tourists, I have appositely selected some heritage sites based recommendation in the guide books privileging the Byzantine monuments of Ravenna. As regards local members, every time I contacted a possible participant, by email or by phone, I always let them choose the place where they wanted to be interviewed. Very often these places were coffee shops at coffee time – mid morning – or aperitif time – late afternoon. The space in which interviews takes place can yield important information regarding the way participants construct their identities (Chih Hoong 2003). I consider these places particularly revealing of some aspects of the local community identity, as I will be explaining in the following chapters, even though they may have been chosen unconsciously. Only a few acquaintances were interviewed at their or my place. In other occasions, I chose villages feasts and other associative events where the selection of participants was made by me up line, and based on a personal proactive approach.

Validation of data

Defining the positionality of the research, in any social projects, brings to the picture a central issue: data validity. Validation of data is a delicate concept in ethnographic research because of the nature of the study itself, therefore it needs to be clarified a bit more. The tension between researcher and participants in terms of power, which usually is on researcher's side, might raise some concerns about data validity (Crang and Cook 2007; Hustler 2005; Seale and Filmer 2004); there are no universal methods to claim validity of ethnographic data, supposing that true, general then de-contextualised claims can be made out of an ethnographic research. Rather than talking about methods for validation, it would be more appropriate to refer to means,

in other words tools that can improve strengths and reliability of findings. There are several criteria for data validation (Hustler 2005; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Seale and Filmer 2004), here I would like to embrace Crang and Cook's concepts for data validation (2007) based on theoretical sampling (the researcher decides who should be approached in light of the information he/she can provide); theoretical saturation (the range of arguments which can be made concerning a particular matter has been made); and theoretical adequacy (find out similarities and differences with others). In the light of the nature of the project and its feasibility, I have decided to adopt the last validation tool to support my claims, always bearing in mind two key concepts: one is that "ethnographers do not have to be [completely] objective or unbiased, [they are] always positioned" (Crang and Cook 2007:94); the other one is that ethnography is not related to scientific approaches, but it deals with human behaviours, which are unpredictable and complex, therefore no universal law can govern it. Having said that, adopting Crang and Cook's tool for data validation, means that I made theoretically informed decisions on sampling, until I reached what I thought it was the point of saturation. This point was nothing else but to stop when I thought I had learned enough about the phenomena under study. In other words, I decided who to interview and when to stop on the basis of what I reckoned it was adequate, mainly after comparisons with other studies on Romagna (mainly Balzani 2001) and other concepts related to heritage and identity, which will be discussed later on. This approach is in line with the philosophical position of constructivism underpinning the research, as it implies not looking for "objective knowledge about the social world, rather, [for] subjective, personal and context dependent experiences of the people under study" (Rakic 2008:138). Moreover, considerations about myself as researcher were part of my honesty and integrity towards the researched and participants,

therefore my positionality, identity and the role they had played in the research have been carefully considered.

3.7. Ethnographic fieldwork and techniques

Prior to undertaking the three months ethnographic fieldwork from June to September 2013, I prepared a research design in order to anticipate any aspects of the project, including the identification of any potential problems, issues and risks in advance (Torrance 2005; Valentine 2001). My research design had been informed by the pilot study undertaken in January 2011, which gave a flavour of the type of research I would carry out.

The research design for my project has been informed primarily by the research questions I wanted to address. These research questions, along with the embraced philosophical position of constructivism, have influenced the research methods, which were a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, and have shaped the research design. In fact, from the partial results of the pilot study undertaken in January 2011, it had emerged that qualitative methods covering many research techniques, such as participatory observation, in-depth interviews, fieldwork diary and notes, and also quantitative methods, such as questionnaires, would provide a good coverage of the area under study as well as in depth knowledge. The debate about depth versus coverage is still a living matter (Torrance 2005), and for the purpose of this research, I have adopted a combination of methods to try to satisfy both coverage and depth requirements, although precedence has been given to depth rather than coverage due to the emphasis on quality, richness and understanding I wanted to gain in my research. All these considerations on research

methods have been included into the research design along with issues such as access to people, ethics and data collection, data analysis and writing up. Any contradictory results coming from different techniques, have been understood as successfully results able to capture complexities, ambiguities of human behaviour, and to produce a fuller interpretation and understanding of the research questions (Valentine 2001). As Hedges argues (1985:85), “human beings are complex, ambivalent, inconsistent creatures”, they do not live in a sharp-edged world; there is no “pristine Platonic reality under the muddle of our public utterances; [...] underneath the mess of language lie a mess of thoughts and a tangle of behaviours”. Therefore, research tools need to recognise ambivalence and inconsistency as real and important in order to gain a very profound understanding of human thoughts and behaviours (Crang and Cook 2007).

Research design also considered issues such as practicability of the project in terms of gaining as much data as possible within the time scheduled for the fieldwork. All data had to be collected from the beginning of June to the end of September 2013; this period of time was considered appropriate to undertake the fieldwork as it was summer holiday time where the Romagnolian cities were full of tourists. Moreover, being the weather nice and warm, people were more likely to go out and get together at coffee shops, restaurants, associations and clubs and markets, that means all the places I positioned to recruit them for interviews. Although the end date of the fieldwork was planned for the end of September 2013, I managed to collect enough data by the third week of September 2013, when I reached the theoretical saturation point discussed above. Transcript of data was in part contemporary to data collection, and in part occurred once I came back to England at the end of October 2013. Analysis of data has been an ongoing process since the fieldwork started. As Crang

and Cook suggested (2007), I mixed up reading, doing the fieldwork and writing phases in order to be prepared for any surprises or unexpected concepts and deal with them promptly. When some key ideas emerged during the fieldwork or during the transcription phases, I wrote them down along with the number of the interviews that suggested them; I did so in order to easily retrieve them for analysis and to develop any arising concepts. In addition to time constraints, a particular attention had been given to money constraints. Since the project was self-funded, travel expenses had to be minimised in travelling both from the UK to Italy, and within Romagna. In fact, I drove my own cheap-to-run car to commute quickly among Romagnolian cities, and I cycled within the city of Ravenna to move from one heritage site to another, and for meeting local members for interviews. This conduct was a good compromise in gaining a good amount of data within a time-and-money constrained environment.

Participant observation

Participant observation involves living, working and spending time within a particular community in order to understand people's experiences in the context of everyday life (Valentine 2001). Participant observation has been considered one of the main qualitative research tools along with interviews as both of them imply attachment and contact with the subject under study, in opposition with scientific methods. Participant observation's strengths are the ability to study behaviours in natural settings; reliable responses due to natural environment; and greater depth of understanding (Dowler 2001). In participant observation, the researcher usually shifts between the role of observer and participant: Junker (1960) defines four potential observer roles:

1) Complete participant: covert research taking the risk of "going native", that is identifying themselves with people under study.

2) Complete observer: avoid interactions

3) Participant as observer: overt research, emphasis is on participation and the researcher is able to build a trust relationship

4) Observer as participant: the balance is in favour of observation, it prevents the researcher from going native but limits understanding.

Usually in ethnographic fieldworks, researchers fluctuate between positions 3 and 4 (Junker 1960). It has been argued that in the recent years there has been a shift from position 3 to position 4, in other words a shift from participant observation towards the observation of participation, as described by Tedlock (1991), where a participant observer risks an increasing source of stress and implies emotional involvement probably leading to going native. To avoid this risk, ethnographers have been opting for being observer as participant.

In the course of the fieldwork, I undertook participant observation of tourists at heritage sites and local members at typical events and places. My position shifted from participant as observer to observer as participant, depending on both the situations and results I wanted to gain from participant observation. When observing local community members, I needed a bit more involvement to enrich understanding compared to tourists' observation; therefore my position was more like participant as observer: I have noticed local inhabitants on streets, at coffee shops, at markets and village feasts, and often tried to approach them for an interview. The emphasis was on participation and involvement; however, the risk of going native was minimised by the fact that I consider myself as an insider with a critical sensitivity towards the researched area due to my distance from it as a result of many years abroad. Moreover, I could no longer identify myself entirely with the researched; I might know

some aspects of it, but I no longer share and experience it in my everyday life as a local member, although I come from that environment. In this way, any bias due to a possible over-rapport with the researched were reduced and I could keep the “sense of being a stranger” (Hammersley 2007:95). My subjective and objective components, however, were not separated but together developed an inter-subjective understanding of the relationship between myself and the researched (Crang and Cook 2007). As Valentine stated (2001), the limit of participant observation, might be represented by access to places: I overcame this limit by asking sites gatekeepers and tourists for their permission to observe at heritage sites, and by asking local members interviewed for their agreement to use notes from my observation of them occurred in public places. Permissions were always obtained.

Interviews

Interviews are the most common method used in social science (Seale 2004). Interviews allow to gather in-depth information on the researched area and have been used here as the main research techniques. Interviews can range from highly structured to semi-structured and relatively unstructured interviews (Crang and Cook 2007). Interviews are a delicate tool: they are a source of information where many sensitive topics are involved, such as power (the power explained in the previous paragraph between researcher and participants), social position of both actors involved, value (the value of information gathered), trust between researcher and participants, meaning (not always what we hear is exactly what the informants wanted to mean), interpretation and uncertainty due to multiple interpretations and meanings (Barbour and Schostak 2005). Seale (2004) argues that interviews can be used as resource, such as for discovering about people’s lives, but also as topic, where sometimes interviews can be used as an opportunity to conduct direct

observation. My interviews were resource to find out data, and also topic, mainly when interviewing local community members: sometimes I found diffidence and reticence at the first instance, then dissolved in willingness to take part to the project. I interpreted this behaviour as a topic while interviewing. Or when I was asked very often to hold interviews at coffee shops: in this case, commensality was understood as an identity marker. Information coming from interviews as topic was recorded on the field diary.

For the purpose of the research, in the research design I planned the type of interviews I wanted to carry out; however, I was open minded in terms of changing them to follow the flow of interviews and fit any unexpected themes. I prepared a set of topics I wanted to go through respectively with local community members and tourists (Appendix B). It was the starting point and from here I could add, remove or modify any questions in line with both the flow of interviews and new arising themes. I undertook in depth open-ended interviews in order to get information on participants' experience, feelings, views and meanings, and allow participants to respond in their own words (Seale and Filmer 2004).

In total 74 interviews were undertaken among locals and 89 short interviews among tourists. Interviews with local community members were generally one to one interview in order to get in depth and unconditioned information. I wanted local participants to express their feelings and thoughts freely, without being listened to others as to do so could prevent them from talking openly. Moreover, those who had to be interviewed afterwards could have been unconsciously influenced by listening to answers of previous interviewees. In addition, I did not want future interviewees to listen to the questions in advance as it could have given them time to artificially construct their answers at the expenses of naturalness. Identity is an intimate

process therefore I took any necessary measure to ensure that privacy and freedom to talk were respected. This is the reason why I preferred, when possible, carry out single interviews. Then, I opted not to undertake any group interviews for the local community, unless obliged by circumstances: in fact, in six cases out of 74 interviews, I carried out focus group interviews as local community members were recruited as a couple and agreed to respond together. Focus groups are not considered an effective way of measuring attitudes, or of eliciting people's real views (Barbour and Schostak 2005). On the contrary, the several tourists' interviews were group interviews as tourists often travelled in group. When I recruited tourists, I began by interviewing just one person, but sometimes the other person travelling with the interviewee rather than assisting in silence, spontaneously took part to the debate and made their voice heard. In this case, the flow of conversation among participants often ensured a dialogue between people to enforce or challenge other's opinion. This type of tourists' interview was welcomed, and every time a person decided spontaneously to take part to the interview, I asked them to sign the consent form to comply with the ethical policy. In many cases, tourists were couples; just a few interviews were made of three or more participants.

As mentioned above, I interviewed tourists at selected heritage sites. I have decided to focus my interviews to tourists on select monuments and sites of the city of Ravenna only. This criterion has been based on a detailed research on travel books and guide books that I carried out prior to the field work. In fact, the monuments of the city are considered to be the main attractions of Romagna. The selection has allowed me to catch a great number of tourists and get the most from my time. I usually introduced myself, I explained what I was doing, meaning the topic of my research, and asked whether they wanted to take part to it. How I introduced myself

was highlighted in the previous paragraph, then I went through the ethic protocol – information sheet and consent form – after which I began interviewing. Only the first question was always the same: I asked what cultural heritage meant to tourists. It was a tough question to start with, but people reacted positively. Although I followed a set of topics to cover, the subsequent questions could change in order to deepen emerging concepts, or better understand some issues, or even to target the interviewees. I usually started with generic questions about heritage and its significance then I moved towards specific questions on Romagna, its traditions and heritage. It was a kind of macro to micro approach. Themes I wanted to investigate with tourists were about their feelings on cultural heritage, their perceptions of the Romagnolian identity, the knowledge of the area, the type of trip they were doing.. Tourists selected for interviews were randomly chosen among Italians visiting the site I was standing: despite the fact that these world heritage sites are visited by international tourists, mainly nowadays that they have been included into some cruises stops, I decided to get a sample of people aware of and participating to the Italian history, and familiar with the concept of Italian regionalism. Interviews to tourists were shorter than those given to local community: the former lasted between 5 and 20 minutes; whereas the latter lasted between 10 and 50 minutes. This is because the core data I needed to gain were from the local community. Moreover, tourists did not want to stop for long time for interviews. However, data from tourists was central to the research as a comparison with tourists' views on Romagnolian identity, it was complementary to understand the perception of Romagnolian identity through heritage. Several times I have been lucky to find tourists accompanied by locals: in this case, I could undertake both types of interviews at the same time and broach an in-real-time discussion between the two subjects of my research.

Interviews to local community members were conducted all around the Romagna: the area under study spread from Forlì' to Rimini and Ravenna, including small villages. Themes I wanted to investigate with local members were about their feeling of being Romagnolian, what this meant to them, how they perceive their land and their feelings on their identity, the role of heritage and types of heritage that better reflect their identity. I started interviews with a fixed question, such as what Romagna was for them – another tough question to start with, and several times participants made me aware of the difficulties in answering this question – then I adapted the interviews to interviewees and mainly to themes I needed to explore, although I tried to follow a list of pre-etablished topic. This approach resulted in many similar interviews in term of questions I addressed, but never identical one to each other due to the necessity to follow the flow of interviews, such as repeating some interviewee's words and asking for more details to deepen some new concepts. As Aitken argues (2001:73), there are no strategies to follow for interviewing, rather the "political and ethical messiness of encountering shared lives through interviews [...]. This messiness raises unexpected turns which become the most interesting and provocative aspects of the work".

Questionnaires

Although the research methods utilised were primarily qualitative methods, I have also decided to use questionnaires, usually understood as a quantitative method tool, in order to catch a broader audience within the local community members and reach those peripheral areas, which otherwise could have been little or no represented. A total of 43 questionnaires were completed and returned to me (Appendix B). I used questionnaires only for the local community and not for tourists as I was interested in reaching Romagnolian marginal areas. Questionnaires had several disadvantages,

such as the limit in the responses, the inability to perceive the tune of people and the body language, or the lack of dialogue. I gave a deadline to complete and return questionnaires to me by email or in person by means of common acquaintances. Despite their limits, I opted to use questionnaires as they allowed me reaching remote geographical areas and having access to some point of views, that otherwise would have been neglected.

Sample of people responding to interviews and questionnaires

Interviews and questionnaires took place in several areas of Romagna, as showed in Fig. 3.1.

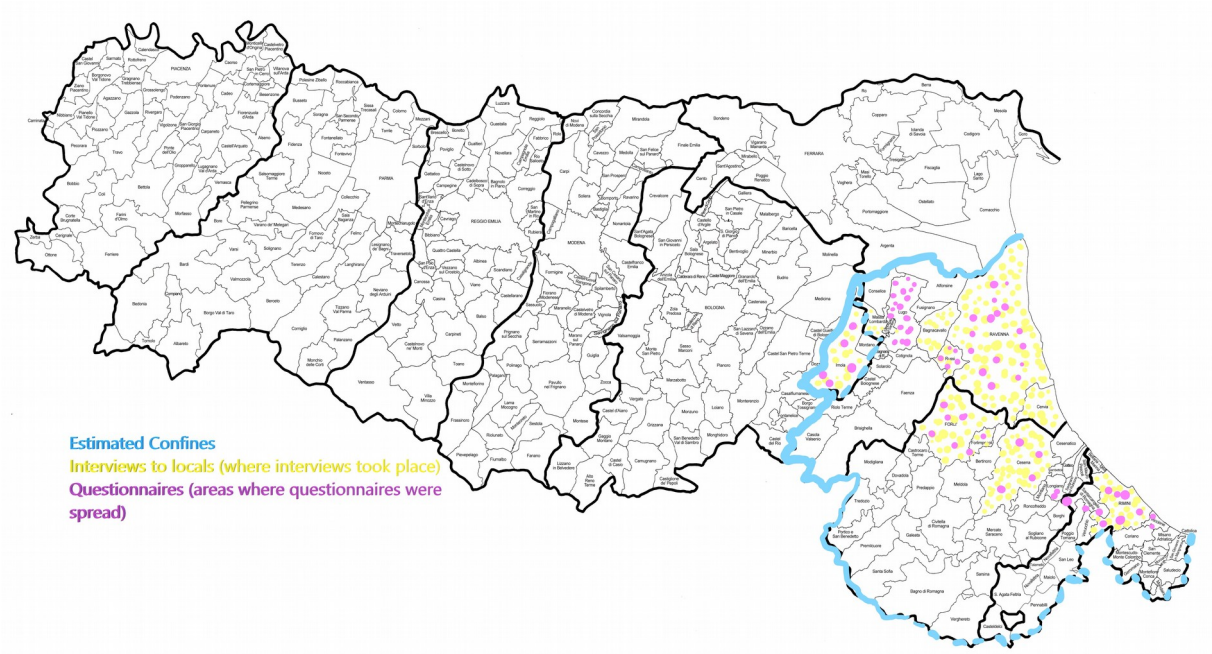

Figure. 3-1 Location of Interviews and Questionnaires to local community.
(Map from the web and edited by the author)

Figure 3.1 shows the estimated confines of Romagna, where interviews to local community took place and the areas reached by the questionnaires. The coastal and

countrysides areas were well covered. Little coverage was given to the hilly areas confining with Tuscany.

Questionnaires came mainly from people aged 18-39 showing secondary or higher education in the majority of cases, and living both in the countryside or urban contexts. Below are the details of the sample of people who responded to the questionnaire (Fig.3.2). Full information are reported in Appendix C.

		Locals	
		Nr.	%
Age	18-39	26	60.47
	40-60	14	32.55
	60+	3	6.98
Gender	M	21	51.16
	F	22	48.84
Level of Education	Primary	0	0
	Intermediate	3	6.98
	Secondary	16	37.21
	Higher Education	24	55.81
Locations	Ravenna	5	11.62
	Ravenna countryside	9	20.93
	Cervia	1	2.33
	Forlì	8	18.60
	Forlì countryside	5	11.62
	Rimini	7	16.27
	Rimini countryside	2	4.66
	Cesena	3	6.98
	Cesena countryside	1	2.33
	Imola	2	4.66

Figure.3-2 Questionnaires: Sample Description

Interviews to local community took place in different venues, such as private houses, coffee shops (mainly for acquaintances), the city centres of Ravenna, Forlì and Rimini, on the beach, and at village feasts. Ravenna and its countryside are the most represented locations where interviews took place. The sample of interviewed people has showed various backgrounds and different level of education (mainly secondary and higher education), and they represented all range of ages proposed with more emphasis on the 40-60 range, as showed in the table below (Fig. 3.3).(Detailed information in Appendix C).

		Local community	
		Nr.	%
Age	18-39	27	36.48
	40-60	28	37.84
	60+	19	25.68
Gender	M	37	50
	F	37	50
Level of Education	Primary	4	5.40
	Intermediate	18	24.32
	Secondary	22	29.73
	Higher Education	22	29.73
	n/a	8	10.82
Venues	Private house*	9	12.16
	Coffee shop	9	12.16
	Feast	9	12.16
	Art exhibition	5	6.76
	Ravenna city centre	7	9.46
	Ravenna San Vitale	3	4.05
	Ravenna University	2	2.71
	Beach	10	13.51
	Russi city centre	3	4,05
	Bagnacavallo city centre	3	4.05
	Council building in Cesena	2	2.71
	Forlì city centre	3	4.05
	Cervia city centre	2	2.71
	Rimini city centre	7	9.46

* houses in urban context were 4, houses in the countryside were 5

Figure. 3-3. Interviews to Locals: Sample Description

Below is a summary of locals' background from interviews and questionnaires (Fig. 3.4).

	Interviews	Questionnaires
Office worker (including ad-min)	15	22
Shop worker and retailer	5	2
Worker	5	1
Self-employed (including businessman)	6	2
Marketing	2	/
Solicitor	1	/
Teacher	2	1
Driver	1	/
Biologist	1	/
Art sectors (event organiser, librarian, musician, tourist guide, museum, pianist etc.)	7	2
Archaeologist and Historian	4	3
Student	1	/
Technician (IT, electrician, surveyor etc.)	5	1
Politician	1 (+1, second job)	/
Accountant	2	/
Housewife	2	/
Manager	1	2
Finance (Advisors, bank clerk)	/	2
Cabin Crew	/	1
Engineer	/	1
Insurance agent	/	2
Designer	/	1
Sail Maker	1	/
n/a	12	/

Figure 3-4. Locals' background

Tourists data sets are less substantial then those related to locals because tourists have been only chosen to provide outside views on the perception of place identity and sense of place, and, by offering contrasting views, to enforce the intimate nature of the sense of place and identity shared among inhabitants of Romagna. Originally, it was thought of conducting a broader comparison between the two data sets, however, due to time and scope constraints, it was opted to limit the use of tourists' data to reflect the vague understanding of regional identity held by tourists. However, those data could be use in the future to carry out further studies in relation to the improvement and development of new tourists strategies, which are now outside of the scope of this thesis. The majority of tourists fell in the 40-60 age range, and showed a different level of education with the prevalence of secondary education. Tourists were interviewed mainly at the famous monuments of Ravenna, however other locations in Rimini and Cesena were included. Figure 3.5 reports a summary of tourists data (detailed information in Appendix C).

		Tourists	
		Nr.	%
Age	18-39	22	24.72
	40-60	39	43.82
	60+	28	31.46
Gender	M	42	47.19
	F	47	52.81
Level of Education	Primary	4	4.50
	Intermediate	22	24.71
	Secondary	31	34.83
	Higher Education	20	22.48
	n/a	12	13.48
Venues	Rimini, Arch of Augustus	11	12.36
	Ravenna, San Vitale	27	30.33
	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo Church	15	16.85

	Cesena, Malatestiana Library	2	2.25
	Ravenna, Neonian Baptistery	4	4.50
	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia	9	10.11
	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric	9	10.11
	Ravenna, Baptistery of Arians	3	3.37
	Classis, Ancient Port	3	3.37
	Classis, Sant'Apollinare in Classis	6	6.75

Fig. 3-5 Interviews to Tourists: Sample Description

The majority of interviews to tourists took place in the city of Ravenna due to the presence of several World Heritage Sites making Ravenna the main attraction in terms of cultural tourism. Other locations were Rimini near the Arch of Augustus, and Cesena at the Malatestian Library. Locations of interviews to tourists are showed in Fig. 3.6 (Rimini), Fig.3.7 (Cesena), and Fig.3.8 (Ravenna).

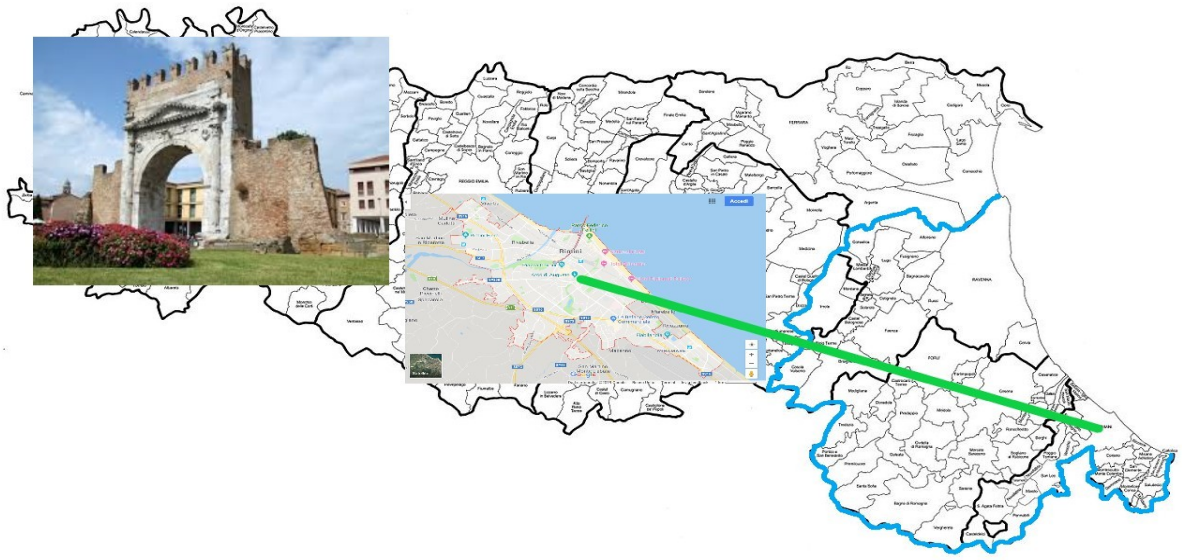

Fig. 3-6 Interviews to tourists in Rimini at Arch of Augustus (above)

Figure 3-7 Interviews to tourists in Cesena at Malatestiana Library (above)

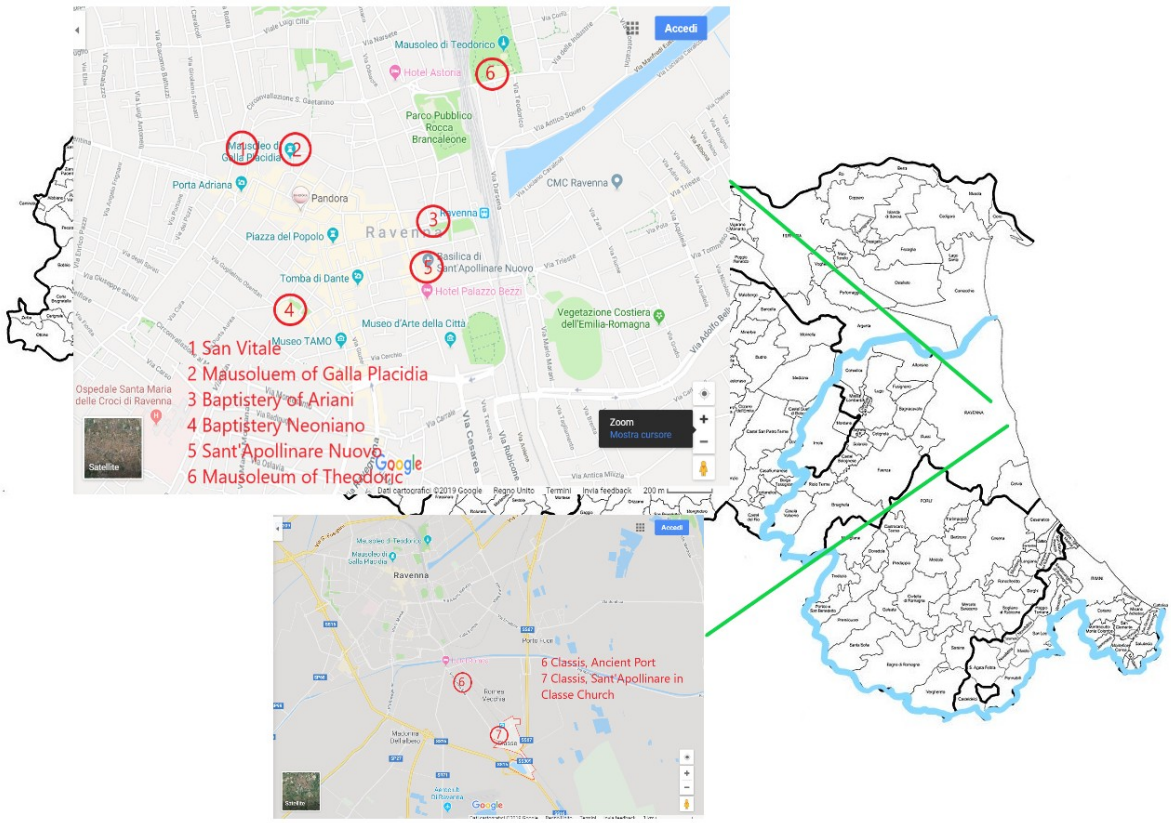

Figure 3-8. Interviews to tourists in in Ravenna and Classe at the main heritage places

The fact that tourists were interviewed at heritage sites could have shaped the nature of the engagement with tourists as visiting those monuments is already an indication of cultural intents. On the contrary, interviewing locals nearby important monuments in Ravenna had no impact on the nature of the engagement, as locals were just walking in the city centre where the majority of heritage sites stand.

Diary and (field) notes

An extremely useful tool to support interviews and participant observations is a diary containing personal field notes. Research diaries usually contain data obtained from observation, considerations that have raised while interviewing, such as ideas, links,

new questions and themes to investigate further; diaries may contain additional information such as draws or sketches, and contextual information about the ways data was collected. Altrichter and Holly (2005) highlight the advantages of taking a research diary by emphasising the ongoing analysis throughout data collection, and continuity in documenting the development of perceptions. I had a research diary where I kept all my thoughts on interviews, observations, ideas and themes I wanted to focus on in the analysis phase. My notes had a chronology and the number of interviews they were referring to. I used two types of notes: theoretical notes when reflecting on data, and methodological notes when thinking about research strategy and methods (Altrichter and Holly 2005). Moreover, my diary contained some notes on non-verbal communication while interviewing, such as body language I could spot, some reference to structures or objects that were pointed out but not described. It would have been impossible to retrieve participants in the transcript, or perceptions I had from participants. I have used theoretical notes during my fieldwork even when carrying out local literature review: in some occasions, I consulted some books on local traditions and history, then I needed to write down thoughts coming from my reading and concepts I wanted to address in general terms once I came back to England. I called these notes “theme notes” to distinguish them from theoretical and methodological ones. I also used notes when transcribing audio interviews to record thoughts and reflections.

I have made any efforts to keep my field notes as clear as possible, and I did my best to write down reflections as soon as they came up in my mind: failing to do so would lead to missing some information. I have noticed that my initial field notes were more general with no particular emphasis on any topics, then, as my research was

progressing, my notes became more accurate and themes specific, as a confirmation of validity of results gained (Crang and Cook 2007).

Audio diary

In several occasions, I have used audio diary to record my thoughts. It happened mainly when I was not able to write down field notes but needed to catch my thoughts immediately in order to avoid losing them: occasions I used audio diary were when walking back to my car after an interview, or while cycling and could not write down notes, or even when I did not have any piece of paper with me to write down, for instance when I was not undertaking the fieldwork, but wanted to document some sudden impressions. I used my personal MP3 recorder, the one I used to record interviews: I used to bring it in my bag at all time, to record my own thoughts as well. All records were subsequently written down, generally as soon as I had time to do so, once came back home, therefore all impressions and thoughts recorded were then transcribed as field notes but marked as coming from my MP3 source. Each audio record was store with a progressive number corresponding to the relevant transcribed note. These records were stored along with other data in my laptop under an appropriate folder.

Data analysis, interpretation and writing up

Prior to starting any analysis of data, I transcribed all material collected during the fieldwork. Usually, every day after the fieldwork I spent some time transcribing data collected; however, I was not able to complete the whole transcript during my stay in Italy and I had to finish it once I came back to the UK. This phase of the work has been a very intensive and time consuming activity: it took me on average five times the time of an interview to transcribe it as I reported each word. While transcribing, I

wanted to gather as much information as possible from interviews; therefore I adopted what Silverman (2004:263) called “transcription symbols” in order to write down non-verbal communication, such as tune of voice, laughs, pauses or sighs, which could indicate some emotions and feelings useful for my analysis. For a couple of interviews, I have to admit my failure in transcribing them word by word as some background noise prevented me from understanding what the respondents were telling, although I was able to catch general meanings of the fragmented sentences. In these cases, I left three suspension points in square brackets in place of words.

Transcripts were stored in my laptop along with all other data coming from the fieldwork. I used three folders to store transcript files: one for interviews to tourists, one for interviews to local community members, and one for my thoughts coming from field notes, diary or audio diary. When transcribing my thoughts, I paid particular attention to mark them as coming from literature review – what I called “theme notes” – from hand written field notes and diary, where I put the same date as the one in the field note or diary (or audio diary), or from interviews; in the latter, I also added the number (sequential numbers) and type (tourists or local community) of interview the transcribed note was referring to. This systematic approach was useful to retrieve information afterwards. Each transcript started with the same information on the top left of the page: ID number, date, place of interview and some general information such as gender, age and education. In case of acquaintances’ transcripts, no names were written down in order to avoid any bias while analysing material. Questionnaires were scanned and stored in another folder. As all people interviewed were Italians, all transcripts were in Italian too. The translation phase and issues raised from it will be discussed in the following paragraph.

Once transcripts were complete, I had a considerable amount of data, from which I had to find out meanings, although some ideas came up when collecting data. I printed out a copy of each transcripts, as reading on paper has always been more accurate to me than reading on a computer's monitor, and I started reading each transcripts looking for concepts. In order to do so, I used a coding system: the process of extracting meanings from a lot of data usually involves some form of coding (Jackson 2001). I do consider the phase of coding as part of the analysis process, in opposition to Seale and Kelly's view: [coding is] "the preliminary stages in qualitative analysis where data is carefully combed through by the researcher making up the transcripts with a series of codes that label particular words and phrases for subsequent analysis" (Seale and Kelly, quoted in Seale 2004:201). Reading transcripts and looking for concepts I believe it is already part of the analysis process as I was handing and interpreting data, even when collecting it.

The method used to analyse data is an example of grounded theory, where analysis involves themes and their relationships (Somekh and Lewin 2005; Crang and Cook 2007). I slowly read each transcripts sentence by sentence and highlighted with colours any emerging concept: same colour for the same concept. I also wrote down what the sentence was about and any specific information it conveyed. In doing so, I ended up having similar concepts marked and coloured in the same manner. Any thoughts from reading were marked in a different way (colour), and then copied into the thoughts folder with reference to the interview it came from. Following reading and coding, I gathered coded information in categories and noted each category, for instance identity, perception of Romagna, traditions, monuments, in a separate piece of paper, and I started looking at the ways they related to each other, in other words I started interpreting them. Once codes and categories were attributed, "interpretation

is seeing how these categories relate to each other" (Crang 2001:219). Any considerations on that, were written down as they related to interpretation first but also to the writing up phase: data analysis in ethnography starts in the pre-fieldwork phase and continues through fieldwork into the process of writing up (Walsh 2004).

I read coded transcripts several times and re-listened to each interview twice in order to see whether something previously unnoticed came up. I did not find any "revelation" to use Crang's words (2001). My analysis was undertaken manually: I did not use any software. Despite the fact that the software are quick in analysing data and retrieving information, and could help save time mainly when working in a time-constrained environment such as my research, I preferred undertaking a manual analysis as I felt I was more in control of what was going on, and mainly I preferred making my brain work, rather than my computer, in order to look for concepts. It might be seen as an obsolete and old style approach, but it gave me more confidence in the results obtained.

Data analysis has to take into account issues such as reliability and validity of findings (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Seale 2004). Validation of data has been discussed in the previous chapter through the adoption of theoretical sampling, saturation and adequacy theory of Crang and Cook (2007). Reliability of questions I asked, and then their outcomes, could be proved among both local community members and tourists by similarities in their answers. It did not mean that contrasting points of view were not considered; on the contrary they reflect how complex and multifaceted human behaviours are. However, similarities in answers ensure strength of findings, although no scientific results can be obtained from any ethnographic fieldwork as explained above. The research was not even looking for any general statements, but

was trying to develop a theory on a unique group of people (Romagnolian people) at a specific moment in time (now).

As regards writing up, it is just another aspect of the data analysis: “when we analyse, we interpret, and writing up is still interpretation” (Crang and Cook 2007:192). Crang and Cook in the quoted book explain that there are three types of writing styles: writing through codes, writing auto-ethnography, and writing montage. The first style, which is the one adopted in the research, acknowledge that writing is built up directly out of the formal analysis of research materials, where categories might be chapters of the writing up report, often completed by the addition of theoretical ideas, and in depth analysis of themes and concepts. It followed that the way of ordering my text was a thematic organisation of concepts, where concepts and themes were presented, and then quotations from interviews were added to enforce statements. This approach, although it might be characterised as a top-down process whereby small selections of quotations give the impression of pre-existing ideas of the researcher (Crang 2001), in my opinion could be seen as an approach enforcing concepts and statements, and the risk of top-down knowledge of the researcher, has been eliminated by adopting rigour, accuracy and no conscious biases from the beginning of the research process.

Transcribing and translating

Since the case study was based in Italy, and having chosen Italian tourists as well as local members of the community of Romagna, the language used to carry out interviews and undertake questionnaires was Italian. Therefore, interviews, transcripts, questionnaires and the majority of thoughts from personal observation were in Italian. Apart from a few notes that were written down in English, such as

some thoughts from personal observation due to their relevance mainly to the English literature review undertaken, and ease of referring them to an English speaking context, the core body of data was in Italian. That meant that a further step was needed: a translation. Prior to undertaking the analysis, I evaluated when a translation was necessary. I had two options: it could occur after transcribing oral data but before assigning codes and categories, in other words transcribing data in Italian, then using English for any further steps; or after the whole analysis-interpretation-writing up phase, that means analysing data, finding some results to write down in Italian, and then translating these results into English. I personally decided to use the first approach. Reasons for using the English language at early phases were twofold: first, when reading transcripts, it was easy and very natural to my mind to associate concepts I was reading about to the English speaking context, probably due to the bulk literature review I undertook in English. Secondly, because the analysis process cannot be separate from the interpreting and writing up processes as stated above; therefore I thought that translating after analysis-interpretation and writing up would have been more artificial and difficult than doing it at the beginning of the process. When assigning categories and code, it was natural for me to use some references from the English context, such as words like identity, intangible heritage, and other words I felt more familiar with in English rather than in Italian, despite that Italian is my mother tongue.

Issues on translating and researchers' position while translating are not new to the literature. In accordance with the philosophical paradigm of constructivism, my position when translating could not be neutral: as knowledge is socially produced, translators – in this case I was the translator as well – "must also form part of the process of knowledge production. There is no neutral position from which to translate

and the power relationships within research need to be acknowledge" (Temple and Young 2004:164). I have clearly explained where I intervened in the translation process: while assigning codes and categories, that means the point where my presence could have just a minimum impact on the research, and there was a natural link in my mind between Italian and English meanings. In this case, I have to say that I did not undertake a real translation, but it was more like a language switch that occurred while assigning codes and categories. I had to use Italian transcripts as a starting point for coding. This is because I felt more familiar with Italian rather than English, and I could catch many shades of discourses in my mother tongue. Then, once understood meanings from words, I could assign codes and categories by using the English language as they came from my English academic background. Therefore, when switching from one language (Italian) to the other one (English), I did not focus on each word, nor synonym and syntax, but on meanings and my subjective understandings: coming from that culture, I knew what tourists meant (I am Italian like them and aware of the Italian regionalism), I knew what local community meant (I am Romagnolian and I understand dialect as well as local expressions), but I have been studying heritage subject in Great Britain and I am familiar with the English academic world and studies on heritage. Therefore, associating Italian meanings with English meanings and concepts was quite natural for me. "The solutions to many of the translator's dilemmas are not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an understanding of the way languages is tied to local realities, to literary forms and to changing identities" (Simon 1996:137).

As a result, using English for the analysis-interpretation and writing up process has been a natural and personal choice, suggested by the considerations I have just explained and based on my personal feeling. I have to admit that I found some

difficulties when quoting some words from questionnaires or interviews as it was not an easy task to capture the exact meaning in English, mainly when some words or expressions were in dialect. The problem was not just a semantic loss but the accuracy in translating the cultural meanings embedded in linguistic expression (Simon 1996). An inaccurate translation could have missed the flavour of the local language (Dowler 2001). For this reason, I have decided to keep the original words in bracket when quoting.

3.8. Conclusions

In this chapter I have explained the reasons I choose the philosophical position of constructivism to underline my research. Constructivism has also informed the methodological approach adopted, which was represented by an ethnographic research based primarily but not exclusively on qualitative methods – open-ended interviews, personal observation, field notes and diary – to ensure richness, quality, and depth, in addition to some questionnaires to reach peripheral areas. In this chapter

I have also discussed the ethical issues related to my research, such as confidentiality and anonymity. The analysis of data was carried out by adopting a code-categories system supported by a continuous literature review of any themes raised at the fieldwork and during the transcription phase. I have also explained my choices in terms of translation and issues encountered.

By undertaking an ethnographic research based mainly on qualitative research methods explained above, and underpinned by the philosophical position of

constructivism, I aimed at developing a contextualised theory – in Romagna and now – on the link between heritage and identity.

Applied Theories

4. WHAT IS HERITAGE?

4.1. Introduction

This chapter first summarises past and present debates on heritage and its evolution over the last centuries from the private approach to it prior the 18th century, until its public interest exploded in the 19th century and onwards. After this brief description of the evolution of the concept, this chapter is going to present some of the main challenges that the notion of heritage has brought to light, such as the several paradoxes that have been raised with the broadening of the concept itself. Some of those paradoxes are related to multiple dichotomies within the idea of heritage, while others refer to the contraposition between tangible and intangible expressions, or the creation of an unofficial heritage as opposed to the canonic or official heritage. This chapter explores the most relevant dichotomies within the heritage debate with the scope of lingering on the most pertinent ones to this study.

4.2. History of heritage and the birth of heritage studies

Over the last 30 years there has been a heritage boom and the way we think of heritage has completely changed. As Howard argues (2003) an interest in some past cultures and people could be dated back even to the ancient Greeks during their visits to Egypt, as *The Histories* of Herodotus confirm (Herodotus, II.35). Another ancient expression of interest towards the past may be represented by the reuse or the practice of making copies of Greek monuments during the Roman Empire. A more recent example of interest in the past and use of heritage could be expressed by Renaissance architects, who were interested in recreating the ancient Greek and

Roman past by copying their antiquities, mainly represented by sculptures. As Carman and Sørensen argued (2009:13), these types of interest towards the past have different characteristics from what we define as heritage practice nowadays. Those examples surely demonstrate an early approach to heritage in the form of an interest in the past and valorisation of its remains, however the past was still given a mythical quality or treated as a state of grace (Carman and Sørensen 2009:13), which is something different from what we understand as heritage today.

Following the Enlightenment period, an early approach to heritage consisted in collecting objects from the past, mainly by rich people, in order to discover their own origins and they were understood as private property (West 2010). Until the 18th century, the past was used just for recalling a golden age or for private enjoyment and pleasure as the phenomenon of Grand Tour has showed (Carman and Sørensen 2009). No civic duties or institutional and public concerns were associated with the enjoyment of the past (Carman and Sørensen 2009:14): that was the peculiar characteristic of the interest in heritage before the 18th century.

Something started to change during the 18th century. In this period, as Carman and Sørensen have noticed, heritage began to mean something different from notions of private enjoyment or to recall a golden age. Following the French Revolution, which led to important changes into societies in Europe, such as more civil rights and major emphasis on the middle class, heritage became to be more “public” and people started to have more concerns about its preservation (Carman and Sørensen 2009). That is why society assisted both in the development of many museums with edification purposes towards the public (Hopper-Greenhill 1992), and the birth of many conservation movements and societies, worried about losing the past. In this period, from being related to minority and privileged classes, heritage has become

more accessible to the general public. In addition to that, at the end of the 18th century, and for the 19th century, heritage became to be associated with the formation of nation states and nationalisms all over the Europe: heritage was often used to promote nation state's formation by supporting nationalism processes (Logan et al. 2015). At that moment, nations have used heritage to legitimise their formation; on the other side, people were interested in heritage as a way to anchor their values to a golden past age, which was seen with nostalgia and this led to the desire to preserve it. During the 19th century, some new political, social and economic changes have influenced the perception of heritage once again: the industrial revolution brought with it also a sense of nostalgia towards the past that was being destroyed in the name of progress. This tension resulted in both a major development of conservation movements and also a more professional and institutional approach to heritage (Carman and Sørensen 2009) to protect the threatened past. In fact, in this period some governments, such as the UK, France and Germany, began to adopt some legislations to schedule and protect monuments (West 2010). This new approach had a few implications: "the care of the past was shaped by and divided between different institutions and specialised disciplines, and rather than a general concern with the past, the practices involved became more narrowly defined and specialised than had been the case before" (Carman and Sørensen 2009:16). Following the colonisation, this specialised approach to heritage was exported into other parts of the world, such as Asia and Africa. However, it was only during the 20th century, specifically after the second world war, that the practice of scheduling and listing monuments became more global: some national and international agencies, first of all the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) established in the 1945 as a specialised agency of the United Nations (UN), tried to adopt global policies to protect heritage. This period was characterised by both the rise of architectural

monuments and archaeological sites as dominant types of heritage, and a focus on conservation and preservation principles. The highest point of this trend, and as a result of it, is represented by the Convention concerning the protection of the world's cultural and natural heritage, proclaimed by UNESCO in 1972. The Convention, welcomed by all states members, focused on the recognition by its members of outstanding and universal examples of tangible heritage, such as monuments, sites and buildings (the only examples of heritage the Western states members recognised as heritage at that time), and natural heritage. These types of heritage were listed for conservation purposes in order to be passed on to future generations. This approach to heritage has been embraced until the end of the 20th century, when many criticisms raised towards the exclusion of other types of heritage, for instance the so-called intangible heritage, under the pressure of both non-Western societies and academics requiring a more comprehensive definition of the topic.

The continuous rise of heritage in the 20th century reached a peak during the 1970s and 1980s. In this period, we can attest to an increased interest in heritage as well as a proliferation of books on it, and the promotion of the heritage experience (Walsh 1992). However, in some instances, heritage was not considered as a great phenomenon and it had negative connotations: Lowenthal (1985, 1998) first expressed his concerns about the many political, social and economic motivations behind heritage; secondly he discussed the role of heritage in relation to history by affirming that heritage is something different from history, that means from a real past. More criticisms against the concept of heritage had been expressed in the same period by two authors: Patrick Wright (*On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*) and Robert Hewison (*The Heritage Industry*). In his book, Wright (1985) reflected on the political use of heritage for the production

of a national identity. English academic Hewison (1987), on the other hand, defined heritage as an industry – “the heritage industry” – by giving it a negative meaning. Hewison made it clear that heritage was controlled by a small group and instrumentalised to provide an identity, often a national one, to divert people’s attention on the ongoing social and economic changes they were experiencing (Howard 2003). In this view, heritage had become a kind of popular entertainment, and heritage sites had grown all over the world.

Despite the negative connotations Hewison gave to the rise of heritage in the 1980s, some other authors, first of all Merriman (Carman and Sørensen 2009) and Samuel, saw this boom as a positive thing in drawing all people close to heritage. Merriman wrote against the idea of heritage as a mere part of a dominant ideology (Carman and Sørensen 2009:19). On the other hand, the historian Samuel (1994) recognised that heritage had been previously taken by some states or upper classes for their benefit, but he also affirmed that the heritage boom made heritage more democratic because it was able to include “groups which were traditionally excluded from power, whether women or ethnic minorities or the comparatively poor, who could now use heritage as a powerful weapon with which to be heard” (Howard 2003:39). The heritage boom then was the result of many social, political and economic changes: Harvey (2008) argued that after the proclamation of the 1972 Convention our perception of space and time had changed, and the economic and social circumstances over these years had changed as well offering more flexible forms of capital accumulation and distribution, increased spatial mobility, and a shift in consumption. All these changes in societies have often resulted in people becoming more concerned with anchoring their values to the past (Ferguson, Harrison, Weinbren 2010:280).

Despite the interpretation of heritage at the end of the 20th century, it is important to notice that in the 1970s and 1980s heritage began to be the subject of academic debates aiming at understanding what it really was and what it meant to people. It is in this period that we can clearly affirm that the new discipline of heritage studies was formed. A growth of research, books, interest in the past experienced in the present has resulted in the creation of this new field of studies. Carman and Sørensen have clearly summarised the birth of heritage studies as a need for a more inquisitive approach (2009:17).

The 20th century has seen the boom of heritage and the consequent birth of heritage studies as an interdisciplinary field to investigate what heritage was and meant to different people. Nowadays, the development of the debate on heritage, started with the consideration of it as an object until its more comprehensive understanding as a cultural product (Carman and Sørensen 2009), or process (Smith 2006) or as a set of relationships with the past (Harrison 2010 and 2013), have moved towards a more inquisitive approach, and have become even more challenging at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.

The theories on heritage over the 20th century have led to the proclamation of many policies, legislations and documents to protect heritage all over the world, but it also raised some issues on the definition of heritage itself, while the debate on it was progressing. With the development of the concept of heritage, at the end of the 20th century, more aspects of it came up and raised a series of criticisms towards the definition (or limits) of heritage itself, along with some concerns about the aim of being universally applied, which was a position mainly adopted by international agencies, such as UNESCO. These concerns have progressed until the 21st century and have generated several paradoxes or inconsistencies, such as the

predominance of tangible aspects of heritage to the expense of its intangibility, or the claim of conserving heritage universally, while the concept of heritage, including ways of preserving it, could differ in other parts of the world from a Western approach. As has been previously highlighted, the evolution of the idea of heritage had already changed over the past centuries. From being just an object often collected for private purposes during the 18th century, heritage had expanded in the 20th century: sites, monuments and buildings along with natural heritage all over the world could be considered as heritage. However, the above list was not representative of what all people might define as heritage at the end of the 20th century mainly in non-Western societies: not only monuments and sites (tangible) and natural resources, but also intangible heritage had to find some space within the heritage debate in order to include others' views. The broadening of its definition had implications on the values system as well: not only aesthetic and historical values, the more represented through tangible heritage in the Western approach to heritage (and in the 1972 Convention), but also other values, such as social one, mainly related to identity – personal or collective one – which is better conveyed through intangible forms of heritage, for instance through practices, and which are more representative of other cultures, often far from Western countries, such as Australia or Africa or where cultural and natural places and practices are given special values rather than their fabric.

It was in this climate that some important policies were set up, such as the Burra Charter in 1979 (then revised in 1999 and again in 2013), which introduced the concept of social value and requested that heritage professionals included community understanding of the value of place (West 2010); or the Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in 2003 proclaimed by UNESCO.

Demands for a more comprehensive definition of, and subsequent approach to, heritage, that could include other forms of heritage and minorities, have been claimed at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. This period of constructive criticism, along with its implications, has led to an expanded debate on it and to a more holistic approach to heritage nowadays. Discourses on the main heritage paradoxes will be explored later in this and next chapters, following a brief history of heritage studies as a new field of interest in the 1970s and 1980s.

4.2.1. Heritage Studies

Following the rising interest in heritage as a public "thing", heritage has been the subject of many debates, and it has become central to peoples' lives for its role in the processes of identity formation and nationalism, or for leisure and tourism mainly from the end of the 20th century. Since then, heritage has been inflected in many sectors of our society for the values people have given (and still give) to it; this has led to the formation of a proper area of research called heritage studies (Carman and Sørensen 2009:3). Over the last 50 years, the field of heritage has also created new industries, professions and a wide range of intellectual speculation (Harrison 2013:7). The so called heritage-boom in the 1980s changed the way we thought about heritage and it had several consequences: there were an increase of categorisation and listing, an increase of specialisms, conservation and management practices, and an increased number of sites, museums and visitors. This emphasis on the remains of our past and the proliferation of specialisms, professionalism and sites has resulted in the birth of the new discipline of heritage studies.

The concept of heritage is not linear and often slippery as well as it is the field of heritage studies, which is not well remarked. It does not emerge from any single discipline, but it overlaps with many other fields of study, depending on the perspective we approach heritage. Therefore, it is an interdisciplinary field of study, to which many other disciplines contribute, such as anthropology, psychology, archaeology, architecture, art, history, tourism and sociology (Carman and Sørensen 2009). Harrison (2013:8) argues that this eclectic situation can be both an advantage and disadvantage. The negative side of it is represented by the fact that heritage, not being the subject of a specific and single discipline, has not been taken seriously by academics until recently. In addition to that, it does not rely on any specific and peculiar method of investigation, but it has to borrow methodologies from other disciplines, such as interviews and participant observation from ethnography when investigating people (Carman and Sørensen 2009). On the other hand, the fact that it is an interdisciplinary field, shows the advantage that it is underlined by a sort of dynamism coming from the interaction with other fields (Harrison 2013). All this makes the field of heritage studies extremely active and challenging.

4.3. What is heritage today?

This question is one the most frequently asked when trying to approach the heritage field. There has always been a need for defining the subject of study of any disciplines, and in this case, the starting point is to try to define such a broad, vague and complex term. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, heritage is a “property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance” or “valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations”. In both sentences, the emphasis is on the idea of inheritance, that

means something to be preserved for and passed on to future generations. The emphasis is then on preservation and conservation, as Harrison noted (2010:9). Although its comprehensiveness, the Oxford English Dictionary's definition seems to favour the material aspects of heritage by using the word "property" in its first account, and leaving the more intangible aspects of it to the word "qualities" used in the second definition. The definition is therefore expanded by including the word "qualities", such as cultural traditions, to define heritage in a broader manner by incorporating a more intangible flavour. Slightly differently, the Cambridge Dictionary's definition of heritage is more concise and quite direct by defining heritage as "features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings that were created in the past and still have historical importance". This definition is positive in including culture and traditions in its first instance with the attempt to consider heritage in its complexity. However, as it will be discussed later in this chapter, it fails to reveal the many aspects of heritage: it shows an important limit, which is represented by the fact that it recognises heritage as something made in the past which still have, nowadays, "historical importance". In this respect, it seems that heritage has only historical importance, and it fails to recognise the many values surrounding heritage, among which historical value is just one of many values people give to heritage in the present. Although with some limitations and differences, both definitions, in the end, express the concept that heritage is something which is worthy of preservation because it is related to the past (inheritance) and needs to be conserved for future generations. As will be discussed later, heritage is such a complex and broad theme for its depth and relationships that a straight definition may often result in being debated or challenged. Samuel (2008:278) recognises the difficulty of it by stating that "heritage is a term capricious enough to accommodate widely discrepant meanings".

What is heritage then? To start with, it could be easier to highlight what heritage is not. Heritage, as many authors have argued (Lowenthal 1995, 1998; Smith 2006) is not just the past or our history. History is "the raw facts of the past" (Aitchison, MacLeod, and Shaw 2000:96) while heritage "is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing" (Schouten 1995:21). Heritage then is the present reinterpretation of the past (Lowenthal 1998; Harrison 2010). This means that history is the attempt to reconstitute what happened in the past, which now is ended, with the intention to be as objective as possible, although some reconstructions may be partial and often supporting the winner's perspective. Differently, heritage is a selected past which has been brought into the present, with meanings in the present, by current people to respond to specific and contingent needs. Heritage then is a selective interpretation of the past occurring in the present, made by people living in specific socio-economic and political circumstances, to respond to current needs. Davison, when reporting Lowenthal's thoughts about heritage and history, made a clear statement remarking the differences between the two disciplines: "history aspires to be objective, precise, accurate, universal, detached, to study the past in its own terms and for its own sake. Heritage, on the other hand, is concerned not with establishing the truth about the past for its own sake but for our sake or our children's" (Davison 2008:35). It is for our intervention that heritage become heritage: it is not given from the outset but it is produced by people (Skounti 2009:75). Heritage occurs in the present, it is a present way of engaging with the past and then it is deeply rooted in the present (Kenny 2009). Heritage is then an active process of selecting objects, monuments, places, practices from the past in accordance with present needs and giving them a scope or purpose in the present. As Lowenthal affirmed (1985), we create heritage through social, cultural and individual processes in the present. Therefore, "heritage is not

something self-defining; it is defined with reference to the social action that selectively commodifies and empathises particular places as important" (Fairclough *et al.* 2008:3, Harrison 2010; Pearce 2000). It comes that heritage is different from history because of its dynamism and active participation into the present.

To come back to the main question "what is heritage?", Harrison's analysis of what heritage is (2010, 2013) represents a good summary of previous studies carried out by representative authors in the heritage studies field. Harrison (2013:14) affirms that people relate to selected objects, places or practices from the past in an active way; these relationships with the past occur in the present, so heritage is made in the present (Graham and Howard 2008; Harrison 2013; Harvey 2001, 2009; Lowenthal 1985; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Walsh 1992) and "people must work to produce these relationships" (Harrison 2013:14; Byrne 2008). People take something, which can be a site or a building or a practice, from the past and give it a meaning in the present based on their own socio-cultural and personal values and attitudes. Therefore, "not everything is heritage, but anything could become heritage" (Howard 2003:7). People create heritage (Carman 2002). The scope of this "creation" may be different: it could be at a national scale or local one, for instance heritage can be created for nationalistic purposes, such as to support the process of nation formation in the 19th century, or can be used for more "local" purposes, or even personal ones. Heritage then can be individual, collective, national and even universal, and it has been used for different social and political ends (Samuel 1994). Smith (2006) has extensively discussed the uses of heritage, by affirming that heritage is a cultural process with varying purposes, ranging from political ones – probably one of the most discussed theme in the heritage studies

field – to economic, for instance tourism, and social ones, such as in relation to the process of identity formation.

As highlighted above, heritage is not history but is a set of relationships with the past that occurs in the present, where some objects, places or practices are given special meanings. Heritage can be everything (Howard 2003). It can be a building, a site, an object or even a practice, such as traditions and language (Harrison 2010:9). For many years, from the heritage boom until the end of the last century, heritage has been thought of mainly as material and tangible, that means monuments, sites and buildings, or natural, although a clear cut between the two categories is impossible to establish: for instance, some rituals may include practices as well as objects to be performed. The intangible aspects of heritage have been neglected for a long period. At the beginning of the 20th century however, more interest was raised towards non-material aspects of heritage, such a practices and traditions (including dance, language, songs, events): “these invisible or intangible practices of heritage, such as language, culture, popular song, literature or dress, are as important in helping us to understand who we are as the physical objects and buildings that we are more used to thinking of as heritage” (Harrison 2010:9).

Some authors have defined heritage as a process and seen it as always intangible because what matters is represented by the intangible values that people give to heritage (Smith 2006). In this regards, heritage is always intangible: any objects, place or practice can be heritage in virtue of the qualities and values people give to them; heritage then happens as a process when experiencing these objects, places or practices (Smith 2006): some forms of living traditions and cultural expressions are not things but are imbued with values and meanings people give to them in the present making them heritage. Therefore, heritage are those values and meanings

that are “symbolised or represented at and by these heritage sites or cultural practices” (Smith 2006:56). As highlighted above, heritage is also considered as a set of relationships with some objects, places and practices, where the intangible is represented by the values people again give to heritage. These relationships however cannot diminish the material aspects of it. On this matter, I would like here to embrace Harrison’s comprehensive vision of heritage where both material aspects and intangible heritage are the expressions of the various physical relationships that are part of people’s being in the world (Harrison 2013:113). Harrison also argues that:

> *“While heritage is not only collection of things, but instead constitutes the social work that individuals and societies undertake to produce the past in the present, this process is not one that occurs only in the minds of humans, or one that functions solely in a discursive manner, but involves a range of material beings who co-produce heritage as a result of their own affordance or material capabilities”*
>
> *(Harrison 2013:113)*

This view goes a bit further from Smith’s work: Harrison and Rose took Smith’s famous sentence “there is no really such thing as heritage” (Smith 2006:11) to go ahead by affirming that “there is no such thing as intangible heritage without tangible objects and, more importantly, without places to attach itself to” (Harrison and Rose 2010:269). Harrison’s idea is to re-evaluate the idea of materiality of heritage, not as representing the whole concept of heritage itself as it was thought in the 20th century, but as an integral part of it, along with the intangible. Harrison calls for a more adequate theorisation of the material effect of things and the need to better interconnect people, things and their environment to heritage in a dialogical model

(Harrison 2013:9). Embracing this definition then means that we need to re-theorise heritage as a cultural process rather than simply a site, place or intangible performance or event (Bendix 2009; Byrne 2009; Dicks 2000; Graham 2002; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006 and 2009; Peckham 2003; Urry 1995) and considering it as a unitary concept made of tangible and intangible aspects. It is the way I would like to approach heritage in this research as an integral concept made of material and ethereal aspects merged together.

To sum up this section, so far we have argued that heritage is a complex and broad term; heritage is not history, but it is a set of relationships with the past (a selected past) that occur in the present, when people identify material and ethereal things, such as buildings, objects, traditions, languages, songs, and practices to become heritage. It is an active process, that means work has to be done to create them. The creation of heritage may have different purposes to respond to temporal and contingent needs (economic, political, social ones) and it is carried out by different people. This implies that there are many variables that play an important part in the creation of heritage: the socio-cultural economic and political climate in which it is created, the reasons behind its formation and the needs it has to respond to, and finally the people making and receiving it, in other words the makers and receivers.

4.3.1. How is heritage created?

During the heritage boom in the 1980, and following it, the concept of heritage has broadened to accommodate more categories of heritage, including intangible expressions of it, which were captured in the 2003 UNESCO Convention on intangible heritage. The broadening of the concept led to a shift from the materiality

of heritage to a concern with heritage as a discourse and system of values (Harrison 2013). This change also resulted in some changes in the practices of heritage, such as its understanding, management and conservation. People began to think about heritage not only through its materiality or material fabric, but about its significance. People began to select some objects, sites or practices from the past and give them meanings in the present, that means they interpreted them in accordance with current needs and purposes. “Selected resources are converted into products through interpretation” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:8). It is interpretation that turns simple material or ethereal things from the past into heritage. This object, site or practice is important: why? Answering to this question means recognising their significance and interpreting it by giving values. The document attesting for the first time the role of significance and values in heritage was the Burra Charter (1979, then 1999 and 2013). Otero-Paicus, Gaiger and West (2010) argue that values are qualities that are brought to mind when experiencing for instance an ancient building, object place or practices. What is important in the creation of heritage is represented by values people give to it in order to make it as heritage. “Values give some things significance over others and thereby transform some objects and places into heritage” (Avrami, Mason, De la Torre 2000:7). When we call something heritage, it means that a value judgment has been given to distinguish that object, place or practice from others because of specific reasons. “The process of valorising begins when individuals, institutions, or communities decide that some object or place is worth preserving, that it represents something worth remembering, something about themselves and their past that should be transmitted to future generations” (Avrami, Mason, De la Torre 2000:8).

Values are different by their nature: they range from aesthetic, artistic and historical ones, educational and spiritual or religious ones, to scientific, social, political, recreational and economic ones, and they often may compete or overlap. In addition, values change over time and in accordance with people giving them, that means they are “shaped by contextual factors, such as forces, economic opportunities and cultural trends” (De la Torre 2002:5). So heritage can be considered as something beyond its fabric – in the case of objects or monuments and places – or its performance and performer, in case of practices. Heritage is the abstract values that people confer to some resources of the past captured by more or less tangible and intangible expressions. Values can also drive decisions on what to conserve or not, and mainly what is labelled “heritage and what viewed as simply old or outdated” (Harrison 2013:13). The process of valorising may give heritage different values, depending on both what people judge to be worth preserving and the moment they do so. Therefore, heritage values are not intrinsic to objects, places or practises, but are attributed to them by people and my change over time. It implies that all objects of heritage need to be perpetually re-evaluated in accordance with social practices and needs (Smith 2006). When heritage was mainly identified with its fabric, historic and aesthetic values were predominant (at the end of the 20th century). With a more comprehensive approach to heritage and the understanding of its intangibility, other values had become prevalent, such as the social value (beginning of the 21st century) (Benton 2010), mainly in relation to the discourse on intangible heritage, and it has produced a series of shifts towards more representative approaches to heritage (Harrison 2013:145).

Social value is often associated with the idea of community and it is often related to intangible heritage for its role in building a sense of identity within a community or

locality. Often social values are linked with intangible heritage, such as language, literature, music or religion, and cultural practices, which are important to people to establish a sense of community and identity. Benton affirms that aesthetic and historical values tend to be controlled by professionals, while other values, such as communal value, which has been empathised by English Heritage (English Heritage 2008), resides in the opinion and feelings of members of the public (Benton 2010). For the purpose of this research, particular attention will be given to both social and political values of heritage – and heritage as a social action – in relation to intangible heritage. To make it more complicated, it is important to consider that different perspectives through which heritage is perceived generate different meanings. Once again, Harrison (2010) raises the point that objects of heritage as well as practices of heritage are given different meanings depending on the people, who can value the object, place or practice differently. This is the reason why there is the tendency to talk about multiple or plural heritage (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007).

4.4. Dichotomies or paradoxes of heritage

The title of this paragraph wants to evoke the article written by Alivizatou (2012) on intangible heritage, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. In this context, the idea of paradox is applied not only to intangible heritage as Alivizatou brilliantly did, but it is also extended to include the whole concept of heritage as it has been debated in the recent years. Heritage hosts several dichotomies, which make the concept even more slippery. First of all, heritage can be everything: when thinking about heritage, we can mean material things, such as monuments, building and memorials, but also immaterial things such as language, traditions, songs and dances and even personal belongings. The latter recognition – intangible heritage –

came up at the end of the last century as criticism against the claim of universality made by UNESCO along with its focus on the tangible aspects of heritage. Following that, what is nowadays considered as heritage varies in type, as Harrison has summarised (2010).

This list made by UNESCO shows a vast range of what it is considered as heritage, and highlights how broad the concept can be. In addition to that, heritage varies in scale as well, ranging from whole landscapes and places to small objects found in archaeological sites, from traditions to cultural practices and so on; but also in the temporal selection of the past to ascribe as heritage, such as prehistoric sites to modern city landscapes (Harrison 2013).

Probably due to the elusive definitions of heritage that have followed one another since the 1980s, and the attempts to fill the gaps raised progressively while the concept of heritage was being investigated and applied to all over the world, people have often added new aspects to it in order to catch its intimate nature and shades. In reality, this approach led to the fragmentation of the subject itself. “Heritage is created in a process of categorising” (Carman 2002:22). Categorising it also meant fragmenting it. The debate on what heritage was and is, and its innate classification, has lasted for several decades, and has resulted in a sort of fragmentation of the concept itself: cultural heritage versus natural heritage, intangible heritage versus tangible one, universal versus local or even higher and lower forms of heritage. All these categorisations of heritage, rather than helping in defining and managing the topic, have made people misunderstand the whole meaning of heritage itself as a unitary concept. In this regard, I completely endorse Harrison’s view that “for every object of tangible heritage there is also an intangible heritage that wraps around it” (Harrison 2010:10), and I firmly embrace and support Harrison’s call for a more

adequate theorisation of the material effect of things and the need to better interconnect people, things and their environment to heritage (Harrison 2013:113).

As highlighted above, heritage is a complex, cohesive and comprehensive process of re-elaboration of the past in virtue of current circumstances: it means many things, and even non-things, and operates at a range of different spatial, temporal and institutional scales (Harrison 2013:5). Since its commitment to protecting heritage in the last 50 years, UNESCO have tried to classify heritage into categories – monuments, groups of buildings, sites, natural heritage, intangible heritage – in a more or less conscious way, such as *monuments, groups of buildings, sites and natural heritage* (UNESCO 1972).

Following the 1972 Convention, heritage was firstly classified as cultural and natural, and its understanding focused on the material aspects, such as monuments, sites and buildings (also defined as a Western approach to heritage), bringing with it the focus on historic, aesthetic and scientific values. This model has been exported all over the world during the heritage boom in the 1970s and 1980s with the explicit claim of being universal: UNESCO's mission was to protect mainly monuments, sites and buildings of outstanding and universal value all over the world. Classification and universality however, had several implications in the way heritage was understood and perceived: classification led to fragmentation of the concept itself, and the claim of being universal clashed with other interpretations of what heritage was, mainly developed in other parts of the worlds, such as Asia, Africa or Australia, where less attention was given to material aspects of heritage and where often natural features or practices had cultural significance to people living there. The "encounter" with other forms of heritage, called intangible heritage at a later time, generated some criticisms towards the 1972 Convention and showed its limits: at the end of the last

century, in fact, it was remarked that the Convention, expressing mainly a Western concept of heritage based on the tangible aspects of it, could not be applied to and deal with different forms of heritage (intangible), and new approaches to a more comprehensive definition of heritage were urged to include what non-Western people considered as heritage. In this climate, to overcome the limits of the 1972 Convention, UNESCO tried to fill the gap in its policies by proclaiming the Convention for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in 2003. This Convention was born with the aim of solving many issues raised by both the 1972 Convention and the UNESCO claim to be universal: the aim of protecting universal heritage had to go in parallel with the recognition of other forms or expressions of heritage, which differ from the material one, typical of the Western societies. In trying to fill the gap not only in the policies but also in the understanding of heritage, the 2003 Convention, was a great step head in the protection of global heritage; however, it raised some further concerns. Here is where the first paradox of heritage lies: it is the dichotomy between tangible and intangible heritage. The creation of two different conventions, one for tangible and the other for intangible heritage, resulted in the fragmentation of the concept of heritage by making an opposition between tangible and intangible, suggesting that heritage could be divided in two different types. As a result a dichotomy was created: two types of heritage could exist, tangible and intangible one. Surely, tangible and intangible heritage are not two separate types of heritage, but they may represent two distinct forms or expressions of heritage as a unitary concept. That is why I have used the word dichotomy in its philosophical meaning to highlight the idea of two opposite parts belonging to the same entity: no two different things (tangible and intangible to be treated separately) but two different aspects of the same thing (to be understood together). It is undeniable that the concepts of tangible and intangible are often characteristic of specific types of heritage, and often

express specific values: for instance, usually social values are better conveyed through intangible forms of heritage with the purposes of creating or enforcing a sense of belonging or identity mainly within communities; or aesthetic and historical values have often been associated with monuments and buildings, that means with tangible heritage. Although these associations are quite common, it does not mean there are two different types of heritage which have to be investigated separately. Understanding the phenomenon of heritage in its entirety is much more complicated and requires an analysis of the dialectical inter-relationship between the tangible and intangible parts of it, along with an understanding of the relationships among objects, places or practices with both the people who created it (and even the ones who receive it), and the socio-cultural and political and economic circumstances (raising needs) within which heritage is created. So there is heritage with its tangible and intangible expressions, which often convey different values for different purposes and made by different people.

In addition to the dualism between cultural and natural, and the dichotomy between tangible/intangible, there is another characteristic of heritage that goes in parallel with categorising: heritage is often listed. An example of listing is that done by UNESCO, although it was made with the best and positive intentions. The process of listing is hard by itself and brings important implications. Listing an object, place or practice, means giving that object, place or practice special qualities that confer them “an official position that has a series of obligations, both legal and moral, arising from the inclusion on this register” (Harrison 2013:7). “As places on the World Heritage List they must be actively conserved, they should have formal documents and policies in place to determinate their management, and there is an assumption that they will be able to be visited so that their values to conservation and the world’s heritage can be

appreciated" (Harrison 2010:10). It happens not only to World Heritage sites listed by UNESCO, but it may happen to any places, from global scale to local ones. Listing changes the relationship with the object, place or practice listed as Harrison has clearly remarked: they become outside the everyday life (Harrison 2010). Moreover, "even where places are not officially recognised as heritage, the way in which they are set apart and used in the production of collective memory serves to define them as heritage" (Harrison 2010:11).

So the process of listing has important implications: it turns an object, place or practice in something different, it extrapolates them from their routine and daily life, and puts them in a realm of policies, legislation and conservation. Being transferred into the realm of policy and conservation suggests that these objects, places or practices are in danger. "The process of listing suggests that what is listed could be also at risk, may be simple at risk by flow of time but still threatened, then in need for protection and conservation" (Harrison 2013:7). Harrison (2013) affirms that heritage is suitable for being categorised and listed. It is a common association thinking about a listed objects, place or practice as something with special qualities. The process of listing, often at national and international level, conveys the idea that heritage is something to be carefully managed, then it is associated with the idea of threat and risk. These objects, practices or places are created in the present, but are from the past, and need to be preserved for future generations. Again, the idea of being at risk is linked with the idea of preservation and conservation for something we have inherited and need to pass on to future generations. The approaches to heritage, such as the application of categories and the process of listing, have led to some dichotomies within the concept of heritage itself.

The listing process generates a further paradox, which is represented by the fact of being included or not into a list. Being on the list projects objects, places and practices at any level into what Harrison calls official heritage (Harrison 2010, 2013). “Once places become statutory entities and are recognised as belonging to heritage by their inclusion on an official heritage list, they are created as official heritage and subject to a series of assumptions about how they must be treated differently from other places” (Harrison 2010:8). The other side of the coin is that if there is an official heritage, there must be an unofficial heritage as counterpart. This further dualism of heritage has significant consequences on the understanding of heritage and implications on its uses, mainly at political level as Smith outlined when talking about the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006). These approaches – categorising and listing – are themselves producer of oppositions, which are reflected into the 2003 Convention as it will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.5. Official and unofficial heritage

As stated above, the process of listing has some important implications on the way heritage is perceived and understood: the object, place or practice listed usually enters the sphere of interest of governments for its embodiment of regional, national or international values. It is a top-down approach to the classification and promotion of specific places or objects, which become official heritage as a consequence of being listed. Usually, those who create official heritage are governments or states. On the contrary, at a local level some forms of heritage are created with a bottom-up approach, characterised by the relationships between people, objects, places and memories, which are part of unofficial heritage (Harrison 2010:8), that usually is experienced at local level and, sometimes, in opposition to or in conflict with official

forms. In the previous paragraph, it was stated that heritage is the re-packing or selection of the past for some purposes in the present: these ends can be nationalistic ones, as it happened at the end of the 19th century during the formation of nations when some places had become official heritage and had to support political goals; or local ones, when unofficial heritage is often in opposition to, or represent a reaction at, official heritage. Official heritage does not always express the view of many, who might have their own (and sometime opposite) heritage. Although it is less suitable for government's exploitation, unofficial heritage can however be instrumentalised for specific purposes, mainly associated with a sense of belonging or identity at a local level, or to create a sense of community, often associated with collective memories.

When heritage is listed, acquiring the status of official heritage, it becomes detached from the everyday to enter completely into the political sphere (Harrison 2010). Official heritage then is always politically used (Smith 2006). The creation of official heritage brings certain ideas about heritage itself and it is promoted within what Smith calls Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006). Smith (2006) affirms that selected examples of heritage, being protected by charters and documents made by experts, tend to promote the values of elite social classes (Harrison 2013:27), and become part of the AHD, which also serves to exclude the general public from having a role in heritage, and, being a dominant western discourse, often focuses on material object and places, leaving the practices and the intangible to more local level. In contrast to that, unofficial heritage is often represented by practices or rather conventional buildings or objects that have significance to individuals or communities, but they are not recognised by official forms of legislation therefore are not formally protected. Unofficial heritage is very often associated to

intangible heritage expressions, however it could also be represented by a “set of social practices that surround more tangible forms of both official and unofficial heritage” (Harrison 2013:15).

In essence, the difference between official and unofficial heritage is given by the recognition of specific values attributed to some objects, places and practices by governments, which list and protect them through policies and legislations. However, the distinction between official and unofficial is not always a clear cut: some heritage may have been recognised as official, but they can keep an unofficial value as well. It is the case of monuments, which are legally protected by the state but that also have value to some individuals for several reasons, for instance they represent a memory from childhood, or because they have been experienced within a particular context or with particular people. In those cases, some heritage may become *places* that are defined by values ascribed by people viewing and experiencing them. In other cases, some heritage could fall into the categories of official heritage, but they are not recognised as such by the state although they have values for individuals or communities. The distinction then is not fixed but the two fields are interconnected with each other and influence each other (Harrison 2013).

The distinction between official and unofficial, nonetheless, has also important implications: often official heritage is understood as something to take as it is (already defined by states), something finished. In fact, very often monuments, sites and buildings can be perceived by the local communities as something dead, no longer alive and not being able to represent an intimate sense of identity (Smith 2006). They are listed by governments, then they enter the realm of legislation and policies, are looked after by professionals and taken away from the locality. So the debate around it can be limited. On the contrary, unofficial heritage is more open to further

interpretations by more people and it fails to have formal protection in terms of policies, practices and management. Therefore, unofficial heritage is more suitable to an open debate, or to be used to contest and challenge official heritage rather than the other way round. The difference between official and unofficial heritage can also be represented by a canonical model of heritage, often the remarkable, the greatest, the older, the biggest and the best, versus the everyday, such as customs or traditions understood as the repetition of practices that bond values, beliefs and memories of communities in the present with their pasts (Harrison 2013:18). The everyday life lies more in the intangibility of practices and traditions (Harrison 2010). As stated above, official heritage can find an expression in the so-called AHD, while unofficial heritage is expressed through intangible aspects of heritage and experienced at local level. Official heritage goes in parallel with the AHD, of which Smith has been the pioneer (Smith 2006).

4.5.1. Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) versus alternative heritage discourse (AltHD)

Smith argues that generally “heritage can unproblematically be identified as old, grand monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts. […] there is rather a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage” (Smith 2006:11). This type of heritage discourse is linked to the Western ideas of preservation, conservation, passing it onto to future generations, and it is thought as something to be dealt with by experts. This set of thoughts and practices, or to use Smith's words this discourse, can be defined as the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), which implies a great emphasis and

importance given to tangible remains of the past that have to be preserved and are responsibility of experts (Smith 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Urry 1995). The author argues that heritage is embedded with power relations, especially the power to legitimise and de-legitimise cultures, and that powerful groups have been actively successful, over time, in defining what does and does not qualify as the nation's heritage. Experts have evaluated what is important from the past through monuments and tangible assets as opposed to other forms of expression.

Smith has challenged the Western vision of heritage by arguing that other uses of heritage can exist and can be in conflict or disagreement with the AHD: "this discourse [AHD] validates a set of practices and performances, which populates both popular and expert constructions of heritage and undermines alternative and subaltern ideas about heritage" (Smith 2006:11). As stated above, Smith seeks to move away from the definition of heritage as sites, buildings, material objects (tangible) and to understand heritage as a cultural and social process, which may give voice to alternative parts (alternative heritage discourse). The emergence of the concept of intangible heritage has brought a new light to the general discourse on heritage by focussing the attention on the intangible manifestations of it, and it has offered an inspiration to anchor alternative heritage discourses to the main heritage debate, often in an opposition role.

As stated above, official heritage as monuments, sites and buildings can sometimes be perceived by the local communities as something dead, no longer alive and not able to represent an intimate sense of identity. The idea of heritage as old and monumental has been reflected into national and international policies and legislations, such as the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Official approaches to heritage (the greatest examples of monumental artefacts listed often by states or

experts and then protected through policies and legislations) are rooted in the Western theorisation of heritage and understanding of the world (Harrison 2013: 39). Smith has stretched this theme further by affirming that “a Western Authorised Discourse (AHD) that defines heritage as material (tangible), monumental, grand, good, aesthetic and of universal value dominates, if not underwrites, much of UNESCO's heritage policy” (Smith and Akagawa 2009:3).

The emergence of the concept of intangible cultural heritage in the 1950s in the Eastern parts of the world, and its assimilation into the Western set of thoughts, including the meaning of intangible heritage for non-Western societies, has been seen as a shift of the heritage paradigm in order to deal with a more comprehensive concept of heritage itself (Winter 2014). This shift was pre-announced by the Nara Document on authenticity in 1994, which “recognised for the first time that authenticity is a relative concept that depends on its socio-historic context” (Araoz 2011:57; ICOMOS 1994). The impact of the document in terms of context implications was relevant: it implied an understanding of cultural heritage based on an anthropological view of the notion of culture (Alivizatou 2007; Bouchenaki 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004).

The AHD then underlines the dichotomy between official and unofficial heritage because when official heritage is created, immediately that heritage enters the political arena and become part of the AHD. “The AHD removes heritage objects, places and practices from their historical context and encourages people to view them as symbols – of the national character, of a particular period in history, or of a particular building type. In doing so, they are stripped of their particular meanings and given a series of newly created associations” (Harrison 2010:28). These new associations have some implications, which are intrinsic into the AHD: they make

heritage far from the general public as they represent an expression of the governments' actions, which entrust heritage into the hands of professionals to protect values governments attribute to that heritage often for political reasons. Through the AHD official heritage then becomes "finished" (Harrison 2010): it is seen as complete, "untouchable and in the past, and embodied within tangible things such as buildings and artefacts. Such a model of heritage is based on the idea that the values of heritage are inherent and unchanging" (Harrison 2010:39). This conclusion clashes with both the idea of heritage as a dynamic concept based on changing values, and the idea of heritage as a form of social and cultural action: culture, as well as heritage, is not just an accumulation of things but a continuously renovated process, where old and new practices are adopted and adapted within a cultural system (Harrison 2010). Heritage may change with contexts as well. If these contexts change, then the production of heritage changes as the ways in which people think about themselves and their relation with their past may change (Kenny 2009:151). Here, Lowenthal was to the point by affirming that "heritage clarifies the past by infusing it with present purposes" (Lowenthal 1998:xv). It follows that heritage changes with time (Pinna 2004) and, consequently, it is fluid and dynamic rather than static. The concept of fluidity and dynamism is certainly more evident for those forms of intangible heritage as they are directly linked with people, living culture and performances, but it is true also for more static forms of heritage – tangible one – as Araoz argues: "even in the Western world, the values of traditional heritage no longer reside exclusively on its physical fabric and form, but on intangible concepts that by their very nature are in constant flux. In addition, the range of values that now are attributed to heritage includes many that in the past played no role in conservation of material culture" (Araoz 2011:58). It is a dynamic process of reproduction to deal with the present, it is actual and not past, and it is often associated with the locality

(Appadurai 1996, 2008). In this view, heritage is a social action (Byrne 2008; Harrison in West 2010), where the bottom-up approach, and the intangible aspects of heritage are the main focus to help community build a sense of identity through “the production of both collective and individual memory and performing social work” (Harrison 2010:39).

From the above considerations, it is possible to affirm that if there is an Authorised Heritage Discourse based on official heritage, there is also an alternative heritage discourse, which goes in parallel with, and very often in opposition to, the former, and it is based on unofficial heritage. Smith's concept of alternative heritage discourse, often associated with non-monumental heritage, can give voice to subaltern parts and speak in opposition to official heritage (Smith 2006). Often intangible cultural heritage is not listed and it is rooted into locality generating examples of unofficial heritage, which can be used in opposition to official heritage made by the states. Key to the alternative heritage discourse mainly based on intangible heritage expressions are then people (individual groups or communities) and contexts, which influence the values system and, consequently, the creation of heritage. It is true for tangible heritage, but it is even more clamorous for intangible expressions. It emerges that the idea of intangible heritage is often related to an “alternative heritage discourse” (Alivizatou 2007:48), where the past is not a foreign country, to use Lowenthal's words, but it exists in living people, in their bodies and minds through memory (Alivizatou 2007; Butler 2006; Ingold 1996; Rowlands 2002). Therefore, the concept of intangible heritage “has signified a shift in perceptions of cultural heritage from objects and monuments to practices and processes. This implies that a fundamental constituent of the concept of intangible heritage is the human element, in other words the people that create and practice cultural expressions and produce and use cultural

artefacts" (Alivizatou 2006:52). This shift, as it will be highlighted in the next chapter, was well captured into the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage.

4.5.2. Heritage discourses and the everyday life

Alternative heritage discourses may find a breeding ground into the everyday life where communities can create their own discourses in opposition to the dominant power, which is often reflected into the official heritage expressions belonging to the Authorised Heritage Discourse as an expression of the hegemonic power (Smith 2006). Being a selection of the past for current needs, heritage meanings and values can change over time: this implies that authorised heritage discourses may change over time on the basis of both the past selected and needs to satisfy, often from a political point of view. An interesting analysis of how the authorised heritage discourses have changed over time has been outlined by Battilani, Bernini and Mariotti (2018), who have traced their evolution in Europe first, then worldwide from the first laws introduced by the Papal State between 1425 and 1574.

In some occasions, I argue that although the distinction between the authorised and alternative heritage discourses is clear, an evolution of the dialect relationship between authorised and alternative heritage discourses could be represented by the fact that previously forms of alternative heritage discourses, when the context changes, may become authorised heritage discourses to which new forms of heritage can be opposed creating new alternative heritage discourses. It is mainly true at a local level, where unofficial forms of local heritage, which were created in opposition to official heritage and the authorised discourse, over time become

themselves official because other sub-alternative heritage are created. I think about minorities culture within a regional or group context. In this framework, dissonance is always present in all manifestations of heritage, to which dissonance is intrinsic (Robertson 2012:8; Atkinson 2008; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

The distinction between Authorised and alternative heritage discourses, in the end, is a matter of power (Smith 2006): hegemonic powers often choose grand and monumental forms to convey their messages and, in doing so, they create official heritage underlining authorised discourses. It is legitimate to wonder whether this trend will be followed in the future as well: the number and type of heritage expressions have increased over the last decades, creating new meanings and new oppositions. This can generate further discourses and may turn previously alternative discourses into authorised ones. It could be the case of regional contexts, where what was created as alternative heritage discourse in opposition to a national official heritage and authorised discourse, can be turned into authorised discourse when a feeling of thereat can raise from minorities within the region, which generate their own new alternative heritage discourse.

Alternative heritage discourses are often rooted into the everyday life, which represents a context with less formal control and more suitable to convey different, and sometimes dissonant meanings. Also the everyday life plays a crucial role in the definition of places as they are reflected into the mundane and daily life (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Heritage is one of the main determinants of places and underpins the relationship between place and identity by conveying sense of place. Often heritage discourses prove to be an efficient tool to create, enforce or contest identities, and heritage can serve as an anchor for identity feelings (Rose 1995). The everyday is the ideal context where identity feelings can be expressed, and where

unofficial heritage expressions find their space in order to support alternative heritage discourses, or any types of heritage from below (Robertson 2012).

4.6. Social work of heritage, locality and collective memory

In the previous paragraphs, it has been stated that heritage is not just a collection of things, but rather a process where individuals and societies undertake a social work to produce the past in the present (Harrison 2013:113). Harrison summarises the role of heritage as social action (Harrison 2010a) by drawing on the work of Samuel (1994), Anderson (1991), Appadurai (1996; 2008) and Byrne (2008). Harrison focuses the attention on unofficial heritage, which is considered to be significant or culturally meaningful by communities and collectives in terms of sense of belonging and identity by drawing the past into the present. Driven by communities, other readings and interpretations of heritage could be made, even of nations, to create new narratives about the past, which could change the view nations have of themselves and the relationships with their minorities (Hall 1999). It is here that heritage can fulfil the role of social action by acting from below.

In this view, central to heritage as social action, are therefore the concepts of unofficial heritage and community, and their work in the production of culture: culture is made by the processes of adoption and adaptation of new and old practices (Harrison 2010). Unofficial heritage, such as language, rituals, performing arts, knowledge and crafts, which are expressions of intangible heritage as also recognised by UNESCO, help individuals and the collective to build relationships among them and with the world the live in (Harrison 2010). Individuals feel bounded together into a community, which could even be imagined (Anderson 1991) because

not all members know each other, and also because the dissolution of the spatial boundaries of a localised community in the modern world has led to the increased importance of symbolic and imagined forms of communities (Harrison 2010; Cohen 1985; Appadurai 1996). Heritage practice then is concerned with the production of community, but it also establishes a sense of connection between people and places. Appadurai (1996; 2008) calls this work as the production of locality, where locality is a relational rather than a spatial concept: there is a cultural work behind the production of locality and societies must to it to create locality (Appadurai 1996). Therefore, heritage, or better its expression as intangible heritage, is used to produce locality within a community: “communities use both intangible heritage practices and the social practices relating to tangible forms of heritage as a part of the work that maintains their connection to particular places and to each other” (Harrison 2010:243). In this view, locality is firstly the result of the social work undertaken by communities, which, through social practices, create a space to which an individual feels connected to others. Heritage is then used to create the local through rooting specific social practices in the past, and to produce a collective memory of a community (Harrison 2010:11 and 36). Cultural practices create “the local”, which results in a sense of belonging to a community and to a place. In this context, heritage as a way to connect oneself to the past and the collective past of the other members through the recreation of specific memories and histories (collective memories), fulfils as social action through its practices. Again, heritage then is not perceived from above in a top-down approach, (typical of official and listed heritage, often in its materiality), but it works horizontally among a community through its performance to establish a sense of locality and belonging.

From here, another key concept that emerges is the role of collective memory: collective memory is at the basis of the production of local communities, which are cultural constructions created and maintained only through the work of local identity building (Byrne 2008). Benton defines collective memory as the "similarities between the memories of a number of people, produced either by shared experiences or by the common rehearsal of stories representing events of which people may have a more or less direct experience" (Benton 2010:12). This definition recalls the original definition coined by Halbwachs (1950), who affirmed that individuals have both an individual memory and a collective one, which influences one's understanding of the past in accordance with the spatial and social framework they live in. Memory is a social construct (Halbwachs 1925) and heritage is used to produce collective memory (Harrison 2010:11). Collective memory created by heritage is a social construct shaped by the political, economic and social concerns of the present (Peckham 2003). Intangible heritage is particularly suitable for this purpose: "intangible heritage is intimately concerned with memory" (Benton 2010:240). Memory and intangible heritage are related in the form of embodied memory, which is the memory expressed through the performative, bodily, behavioural contexts in which memory is produced and reproduced (Connerton 1989). This type of memory, in contrast with the inscribed memory, which refers to a kind of collective memory related to monuments, is related to intangible heritage and non-material aspects of the social life in terms of traditions, ways of speaking, of walking and everyday practices (Benton 2010). These practices of heritage, as Harrison calls them, "are as important in helping us to understand who we are as the physical objects and buildings that we are more used to think of as heritage […]. Practices of heritage are customs and habits which inform who we are as collectives and help to create our collective social memory" (Harrison 2010:9).

Heritage can recall memories by the sight, but also through the association of places and things to some events of which we may have direct experience, only when these places and things have become personal memories composed in part of stories we have heard and learnt, and we have make them internalised as our personal experience.

4.7. Conclusions

This chapter has explored the concept of heritage from the first notions to its current meaning and understanding, along with the birth of the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies in the 1970s and 1980s. It has tried to define what heritage is by affirming that it is a process or a set of relationships that occur in the present: it is the selection of a specific past for current purposes, and is made by current people. The conceptualisation of heritage has gone through several steps, which have raised some dichotomies leading to the dualism between tangible and intangible heritage, the creation of official versus unofficial heritage underpinning respectively authorised and alternative heritage discourses. It has been argued that often intangible heritage expressions and unofficial heritage are rooted into the everyday life and go in parallel to create alternative heritage discourses.

5. INTANGIBLE HERITAGE AND LOCAL COMMUNITY

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has highlighted that heritage brings within itself several dichotomies, such as the opposition between official and unofficial, and between tangible and intangible heritage, which are the most problematic ones because of the implications they can carry forward. In this section, both dichotomies and their consequences will be further explored along with the birth of the intangible heritage concept in virtue of its inter-relationships with unofficial heritage as an expression of the so called alternative heritage discourse in opposition to the Authorised Heritage Discourse discussed in the previous chapter. The role of community in the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH) will be elucidated, mainly in terms of practices, traditions and languages at local level, and the sense of belonging conveyed through the creation of heritage among communities. Communities operate unconsciously within the everyday life, which represents both the framework where habitus works, and the setting where cultural practices are turned into heritage through the creation of narratives and memories, often for political ends to reveal values of objects, places and practices, and to convey a sense of belonging and identity.

5.2. Intangible cultural heritage: definition and “story”

“Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and

passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts"

(UNESCO website https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003)

In accordance with UNESCO's definition, Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is traditional, contemporary and living at the same time (both inherited traditions, and contemporary rural and urban practices shared by cultural groups); inclusive (passed on to further generations, evolved through time to give a sense of identity and continuity, a bridge from the past through the present to the future); representative and community based (UNESCO https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003).

Intangible cultural heritage includes oral traditions (as well as language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage), performing arts (vocal and instrumental music, dance and theatre), social practices (which shape everyday life and are familiar to all members of the community, even if not everybody participates in them but they help reinforce a sense of identity and continuity with the past), rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe (ways of thinking about the universe are expressed through language, oral traditions, feelings of attachment towards a place, memories, spirituality and worldview), or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts (UNESCO 2003). The domains of 'oral traditions and expressions' and 'social practices, rituals and festive events' (UNESCO 2003) can also include *cultural traditions* for "their living and mutable character" (Stefano and

Murphy 2016:608), and for enforcing the identity of people practising them as a group or society (UNESCO 2003).

The word *tradition* comes from the Latin word "*traditio – onis",* which means delivery, transmission, and "*tradere*", which means to delivery, to give. In this research, the word tradition is then related to a set of cultural customs and beliefs which has been passed on from a past generation to another one. Traditions are social practices falling within the label of ICH. Grydehøj (2010) argues that traditions usually are related to customs, rituals and expressive forms, in opposition to the concept of heritage, which, in accordance with the author, focuses on monuments, groups of buildings and sites. This view recalls Ronström's thoughts (2008:8) on the distinction between traditions and heritage: "while tradition tends to use time to produce "topos", place, and distinct localities, [...] heritage tends to use place to produce "chronos", specific pasts that are more loosely rooted in place". This distinction has an impact on emotions as well: traditions evoke a wish for old days that are perceived with nostalgia towards the local past; heritage is addressed towards a generic past, sometimes experienced without nostalgia (Ronström 2008). I would argue that this distinction can be integrated within the debate on tangible and intangible heritage expressions, and that for the purpose of this research, the term tradition is used as equivalent to the concept of social and cultural practices falling within the label of intangible cultural heritage.

The first country to request the UNESCO protection for intangible cultural heritage was Bolivia in 1973, when the country asked for legal and administrative measures concerning its intangible heritage, and asked to address a protocol to the Universal Copyright Convention that would protect the popular arts and cultural patrimony of all

nations (Aikawa 2004). Although Bolivia was the first country to request UNESCO intervention in relation to intangible heritage, Japan was already a pioneer in implementing intangible heritage protection laws. In accordance with the accurate reconstruction made by Cang (2007) on the development of intangible heritage legislation in Japan, Japan itself was among the first countries in the world to legislate for the protection of cultural heritage by adopting, in 1950, Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, where for the first time ever there was a distinction between tangible and intangible heritage (Cang 2007:47).

The 1950 Japanese law was successively amended several times in order to add different types of intangible heritage as well as criteria of folk-cultural activities including local customs, manners and performing arts. This distinction is important because talking about folk in the legislation of the 1975, has created the basis for the introduction of folklore in an international instrument implemented a few years later by UNESCO: the 1989 Recommendation of the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (UNESCO 1989), which represents the precursor of the 2003 Convention on intangible cultural heritage. The significance of the 1950 Japanese Law lays on both the intent to preserve the Japanese heritage (tangible and intangible) that, without governmental protection, would decline and fall to ruin; and the focus on intangible heritage properties (Saito 2005).

Another country that had demonstrated an interest in intangible heritage, was the Republic of Korea. Here, in 1962, the Korean government launched a law similar to the Japanese one, titled Cultural Heritage Protection Act, which recognised that living traditional culture and the knowledge and skills associated with it, were fundamental elements in shaping and enforcing national heritage and identity (Yim 2004). In accordance with Alivizatou's analysis (2007), what it is worth remarking through the

examples of Japanese and Korean legislations is the idea that monuments, objects and sites are not the only examples of national heritage, but they are placed side by side within living cultural expressions, which have survived from the past to the present and may be threatened by modernity.

All these precedents were a source of inspiration for a variety of UNESCO programmes developed in the 1990s, which led, step by step and with several efforts and many meetings, to the 2003 International Convention. Yet, in 1989 UNESCO had already adopted the Recommendation for the protection of Traditional Culture and Folklore, which did not achieved resounding successes as it was “a soft law without binding force” (Aikawa 2004:140). Moreover, criticism was raised for both the terminology employed – the word *folklore* was contested (Alivizatou 2007; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004) – and its focus on documentation and archiving activities, which empathised the result of the social process, rather than concentrating on the cultural and social activities that produced it. Following the limited success of the Recommendation, UNESCO launched further programmes that aimed at safeguarding cultural diversity and cultural pluralism threatened mainly by globalisation.

Within this climate, UNESCO Member States reinforced the idea of intangible cultural heritage as an essential factor for the preservation of cultural diversity, therefore its safeguarding was seen as a top target to focus on. In response to this situation, in 1997 UNESCO launched a new project titled Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. As Aikawa clearly stated (2004), the new project aimed at filling the gap between the concepts of natural and tangible cultural heritage, which was raised following the adoption of the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The Proclamation inspired

many debates on several themes, such as the definitions of oral and intangible heritage, the notion of masterpiece and the criteria applied for selection, along with technical questions and the feeling of an imbalance of the geographical distribution of the sites on the World Heritage List. All these considerations also resulted in revisiting the conceptualisation of heritage itself and its meaning, including the intangible aspects of it. Since then, UNESCO and Member States have attempted to tackle all themes raised from the criticism towards previous attempts and it finally resulted in the launch of the 2003 International Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, which seemed to find a solution to the issues raised previously, such as the consideration of heritage as a process and practice rather than a product (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Smith and Akagawa 2009), the replacement of the old terms of “folklore”, “oral traditions” or “traditional culture” with the term of *intangible* heritage (Ruggles and Silverman 2009:9). It was also recognised intangible heritage as a source of identity, creativity, diversity and social cohesion, the interaction with nature, the primary role of artists and performers often associated with the community itself, and finally the interdependence of intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage (Aikawa 2004). The work UNESCO have done since 1990s was not isolated: the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) have shown an interest in intangible cultural heritage since 1998, when the organisation dedicated a symposium on that matter (ICOMOS 1998). Their response, in 2003, was Place-Memory-Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS 2003), followed in 2008 by a conference focused on Finding the Spirit of Place (ICOMOS 2008), where ICOMOS showed awareness of intangible values as part of buildings, sites and places (Kaufman 2013).

5.3. Conceptualisation of intangible cultural heritage

The concept of intangible cultural heritage is a relatively new one within the debate on heritage studies and for its own nature, it is easily the subject of discussions on its essence and meanings at many levels: local, national and international. Intangible cultural heritage is well suited to magnify the debate on Western and non-western understanding of heritage raised at the end of the 20th century. Although many researches on intangible heritage as a new interdisciplinary field of study and practice have been produced, it seems there is a lack of a substantial body of holistic approaches theorising intangible cultural heritage (Alivizatou 2008). It is argued that the main paradox of the conceptualisation of heritage consists of the distinction between tangible and intangible: this paradox came up to respond to some criticisms against the 1972 Convention (UNESCO 1972) which accused it of adopting a Western approach to heritage aimed at recognising as heritage mainly architectural and archaeological features (tangible), and against the claim of being universally applied. In doing so, essentially, it showed some limits in the comprehension of the concept of heritage in its entirety by neglecting the other side of the coin represented by intangible heritage. To overcome this lack, UNESCO, being the international body undertaking the majority of researches on this matter, launched the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage to safeguard intangible heritage understood as a way of living primarily in non-Western countries. In relation to intangible cultural heritage, since it was launched, the Convention has represented an instrument firstly to define intangible cultural heritage, then to protect it from many threats, such as globalization. However, despite its well established intentions and aims, the convention has showed some paradoxes, which have opened the path to several debates on a set of dichotomies raised from the implementation of the Convention itself, such as the tension between tangible and intangible, the Western

and non-Western conception of heritage, the elite and folk, the understanding and consumption of heritage, and the top-bottom versus bottom-up paradigms (Yim 2004).

5.3.1. The 2003 Convention: another source of paradoxes

In trying to respond to the raised awareness of intangible heritage and fill the gap resulting from the need for heritage protection legislation, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage launched by UNESCO has nourished the heritage debate itself with further concerns mainly related to some forms of dualisms and paradoxes within it, such as the dualism between tangible and intangible (as seen in the previous chapter), mind and matter, Western and non-Western viewpoints (Harrison and Rose 2010). It is undeniable that the Convention has represented a good attempt to act and protect intangible heritage since its awareness raised following the 1950s Japanese and Korean legislations and the work done by some international agencies to protect universal heritage has been worthy. Rudolff and Raymond (2013) clearly argue that the earlier UNESCO heritage conventions, mainly the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, were not community driven and were often Eurocentric in their approaches (Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Pocock 1997; Sullivan 2004), whereas the 2003 Convention represents a legally binding instrument to protect intangible heritage and remedy the lack of community involvement. Among its virtues, in accordance with Rudolff and Raymond's thoughts, the 2003 Convention, being an administrative and legislative measure, would affect communities, which needed to be part of the process of safeguarding.

Rudolff and Raymond (2013) explained the increased involvement of communities by analysing three key factors: first of all, over the last twenty years, mainly between 1980s and 1990s, there had been a shift in the field of heritage. This meant more awareness of the topic, more emphasis on its protection along with the birth of the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies, as outlined in the previous chapter. This led to the negotiation of the concept of heritage itself towards significant changes in its understanding: it was broadened by including oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship. From here, emerges a strong bound between heritage and people, mainly in the form of intangible heritage, which cannot be separated from its community. By looking at these definitions, it is possible to see the efforts in the 2003 convention to fill the gap in the heritage debate on the definition of heritage itself (Arizpe 2000; Cleere 2001; Dirlik 2010; Winter 2013). Moreover, it was in this period that heritage studies, which were based on privileged histories and geographies, that means based on Western assumptions, began to explore the "conceptualisation of multiple heritage" (Winter 2013:556) by looking at the non-Western world, where the idea of community involvement and performers had a great emphasis mainly in relation to intangible heritage.

The second reason why the 2003 Convention has its focus on community is related to some international policy changes regarding human rights, especially those of Indigenous people (Winter 2014), which had assumed a more inclusive and dynamic role in the heritage debate. Finally, as Winter argues, in the last decade of the 20th century, there had been a few controversial and problematic cases of nominations under the World Heritage Convention that increased concerns about the lack of community involvement in several UNESCO initiatives (Winter 2014). It is evident

that the role of communities, as it was highlighted in the 2003 Convention, is a great step ahead in terms of heritage management (Blake 2009). Kurin's statement highlights the fundamental role of communities in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage by affirming that “ICH is not preserved in states' archives or national museums. It is preserved in communities whose members practice and manifest it. If the tradition is still alive, vital and sustainable in the community, it is safeguarded. If it exists just as a documentary record of a song, a videotape of a celebration, a multi-volume monographic treatment of folk knowledge, or as ritual artefacts in the finest museums in the country, it is not safeguarded” (Kurin 2007:12). From here, the key role of communities, as raised in the 2003 Convention in preserving heritage and mainly its intangible expressions, is undeniable.

As has just been highlighted, the Convention was welcomed for the majority of its aspects, but it was also criticised for several paradoxes it contained. Alivizatou (2007) has clearly delineated some of these concerns, such as the aim of conciliation its universal mission with the locality where intangible heritage is often rooted, or the fact that it is still dominated by the Western perception of heritage (Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Matsuura 2001; Yoshida 2004; Smith and Akagawa 2009). This in spite of the fact that it was implemented exactly to overcome this issue, whereby conservation principles aim mainly at the preservation of material fabric, whereas the relatively new concept of intangible heritage cannot fall within these measures, being a more fluid concept based on living and dynamic cultures. The idea of safeguarding when it coincides with the idea of “conservation – as both an ideal and a practice – emerged in the West, or more specifically Western Europe” (Winter 2014:557). In dealing with cultural heritage protection and preservation, the discrepancy between the ways of protecting tangible and intangible heritage was already highlighted in the

1994 Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development (UNESCO 1995), which stated that everything which is visible and concrete takes precedence over what is immaterial (Munjeri 2004). As already and largely discussed, over the last century major attention was given to tangible heritage, which was initially deemed to be stable, static and having intrinsic values as well as qualities of authenticity (Munjeri 2004). This approach created an unbalanced representation of cultural heritage within the World Heritage List towards monuments, sites and buildings to the expense of oral traditions, performances and living expressions of culture, mainly represented in non-Western parts of the World, and often rooted into localities as their expression. As highlighted above, this approach raised a lot of criticisms, which pushed people to re-think about the definition of heritage to embrace what was considered as heritage despite the lack of materiality. Here lies the paradox: the idea that intangible cultural heritage has to be preserved and safeguarded by applying a set of practices similar to what we do for tangible heritage. In doing so, the risk could be the fossilisation of a culture in time and space and make it less relevant as a form of cultural living expression for the community performing it (Arizpe 2004; Nas 2002; van Zanten 2004). In this view, intangible heritage could take the form of traditions in need of protection. Then it could be understood as a fixed culture, rather than as a dynamic and continuously evolving process, where performers have a significant role (Alivizatou 2007; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; ICOM News 2004). Intangible heritage is an expression of living culture, which, by its nature, is mutable and dynamic, so logically intangible heritage should also be dynamic since it is its reflection. Alivizatou recognises that the "adoption of measures for the protection of living cultural expressions may possibly hinder their further development and make them less relevant to contemporary community" (Alivizatou 2007:47). This approach can be brought back to the Western

perception of understanding of heritage, where the idea of preservation implies freezing heritage in order to prevent it from decay of its natural fabric. The idea of preserving heritage by freezing it clashes with the non-Western idea of heritage where heritage is also represented by the capability of people to perform some arts and recreate some skills; fabric is less important than the performance and the performer. “Despite the acknowledgement by UNESCO that intangible cultural heritage is in constant change and evolution, the institutionalisation of living culture through state programmes, archives and recordings could possibly freeze it in space and time” (Alivizatou 2008:47). This produced a paradox and a theoretical clash.

Another aspect emerging from the Convention and related to the Western obsession to conserve heritage, is experts fear of the loss of intangible heritage due to the processes of globalisation and social transformations. This approach does not take into account that social transformations are a vital part of the dynamics that allows intangible cultural heritage to be true to itself and then to survive. Intangible cultural heritage, as close expressions of cultural communities, may change over time following contextual (social, economic or political) changes, in the same way as any cultures change. A non-Western conceptualisation of intangible heritage is little worried about social transformations, deterioration or disappearance of material fabric of monuments as long as skills for recreating them are maintained and passed on. Although globalisation may bring some threats to heritage, in its all forms, social transformations can be seen as part of the process to maintain heritage, mainly in its intangible expressions, alive and meaningful as part of a living culture.

Also the practical work of making a list, such as the list of the world heritage sites coming from the 1972 Convention implies cultural inventories, documentation and archives, along with professionals and experts, all of which reinforce the Western

idea of preservation of built heritage, and suggests a top-bottom approach where local communities may not experience a real involvement in their heritage management as the relation between heritage and community may be filtered by experts or mediators. Mediation between heritage and community is welcome as soon as the starting point of this relation is the community itself giving values to heritage, mainly its intangible expressions to which the most intimate and deepest form of identity are attached in a bottom-up approach.

Finally, there is a further contradiction related to the tool used to protect intangible heritage: the consequences of the listing process. Intangible heritage is mainly rooted into locality and therefore a universal list may extrapolate it from its context, which is usually the reason why intangible heritage is important as it is. “These lists remove specific cultural practices from their contexts and freeze them into either superior or representative artefacts to be preserved and admired” (Pietrobruno 2009:232). By listing that heritage, along with other similar heritage examples, we may encounter a de contextualisation of that heritage, and we may neglect those fundamental elements, such as places and people, that have made it (Blake 2009). Listing makes places, objects and practices official and it may clash with the nature of intangible heritage. The list created by the 2003 Convention resulted in the heritage included in it becoming re-contextualised into national or international levels, where different examples of heritage are gathered together along with other masterpieces of the world (Hafstein 2009); the bond with the locality is then undermined. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues (2004:97), the list creates some exclusive heritage and “everything on the list, whatever its previous context, is now placed in a relationship with other masterpieces. The list is the context for everything on it”. This incompatibility was also reflected in the two Conventions, the 1972 and 2003 ones, as they differ in the

value they assign to the exceptional as opposed to the everyday. The 1972 Convention enhances the exceptional character of some monuments, groups of buildings and sites, whereas the 2003 Convention focuses on the unique character of a culture or performance, which are rooted into the locality and often into the everyday life. The universal is then incompatible with the particular. Moreover, the list produces underlying hierarchies “by ranking the world's intangible heritage and by not incorporating the “high” cultures of Western Europe under the rubric of the intangible” (Pietrobruno 2009:229). “World heritage lists arise from operations that convert selected aspects of localised descent heritage into a translocal consent heritage of the humanity” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004:57). It is a kind of reconciliation between the universal targets of UNESCO, which collide against the idea of intangible heritage as rooted in the locality.

In addition, having two different lists of cultural heritage (one for tangible and natural heritage, and one for intangible heritage), reinforces the divorce between the two types of heritage while they should be considered as just one cultural heritage, either in its tangible and intangible expressions. The list perpetuates the division between the two types of heritage, which, we should admit, is practical, but arguable from a theoretical point of view. Smith affirmed that “all heritage is intangible, not only because of the values we give to heritage, but because of the cultural work that heritage does in any society” (Smith and Akagawa 2009:6 and Smith 2006). Arizpe reinforces this concept by affirming that “we must acknowledge that all human achievement stems from intangible cultural heritage, for its ideas, desires and interests that drive people to create tangible or performative heritage. Yet individuals do not work alone. They work within sets of linguistic, cognitive and normative values that construct social and political contexts which influence their will and their capacity

to create culture" (Arizpe 2004: 131). Heritage becomes heritage only when people or organisations give it meanings within a particular set of cultural or social values, which are intangible (Smith and Akagawa 2009), although its materiality cannot be neglected, but both aspects are complementary. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:60) argues that "the division between tangible, natural, and intangible heritage and the creation of separate lists for each is arbitrary, though not without its history and logic". "Although the interconnectedness between the two terms [tangible and intangible] is highlighted in the 2003 Convention's definition of intangible heritage, there is a lack of a broad vision regarding a more holistic approach to cultural heritage. This leads to an institutional compartmentalisation and polarisation, whereby tangible stands for dead or monumental civilisations, and intangible for living cultural" (Alivizatou 2008:48). Therefore, "the regrettable split between tangible and intangible heritage specialisations should be brought to an end" (Kaufman 2013:20), in favour of a more holistic approach to it, as highlighted by Harrison (2010, 2013).

As stated above, the fact that there are two lists seems to stress the idea that tangible and intangible are two different things. It has been highlighted that the Convention has tried to overcome this dichotomy: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:53) argues that the Convention represented a step ahead in terms of reconciliating tangible, natural and intangible heritage, for instance it focuses on sustaining the traditions themselves by supporting the practitioners, and not the professional folklorists, so there is a shift from artefacts to people and their knowledge and skills. It gives value to the carriers and transmitters of tradition as well as their habitus and habitat. "Whereas like tangible heritage, intangible heritage is culture, like natural heritage, it is alive. The task, then, is to sustain the whole system as a living entity and not just to collect intangible artefacts". However, despite the positive attempt, it

still may retain the flavour of a decontextualisation of listed heritage with places, which may result in failing to understand intangible heritage as a process where the main focus is both on the producer of the heritage itself and the circumstances that have made possible the production of such heritage along with the performance of the producer.

Although the convention represents a good attempt to fill the gap in the heritage practice (Bedjaoui 2004; Schmitt 2008) and to bring back some balance in the world heritage site systems that had been so far imbalanced in terms of representativeness towards the Western and European heritage reflecting a weakness in the UNESCO system (Aikawa 2004), it is not lacking of some contradictions on its own, such as the fact of remarking the opposition between Western and non-western understanding of heritage, the dualism between intangible and tangible, along with a list of themes associated with such dualisms, for instance the decontextualisation that a world list of intangible heritage can bring in terms of de-rooting intangible heritage from the locality, which is vital to it.

5.4. Intangible cultural heritage and local community

It has been stated that the 2003 Convention had some limits along with several merits, such as the emphasis of communities in safeguarding intangible heritage expressions understood as practices, representations, knowledge, skills along with cultural spaces in which these living expressions are played out (Arrunnapaporn 2009). This association has easily enforced the natural sentiment of intangible heritage rooted into the locality and expressed mainly through the everyday life, where local values became synonymous of intangible aspects and personal

individual values (Jones *et al.* 2007). The role of community in safeguarding, performing and creating intangible expressions of heritage is vital, “since intangible cultural heritage is embedded in the social and cultural lives of the cultural communities” (Blake 2009:46), and it was stressed in the 2003 Convention. In this paragraph, I would like to deepen some key concepts linked together in the understanding of the relationship among local communities and their heritage as an expression of their identity. It is thought that locals have a different perspective compared to the views expressed by heritage experts, as the latter ones are modelled by their disciplines (Svensson 2009), whereas local communities live and experience their locality everyday. The key concepts I would like to investigate in this paragraph are those of intangible heritage expressions through the everyday life; and the creation of narratives and collective memories associated to some cultural practices to provide a sense of identity, which is firmly anchored to the concepts of heritage and locality itself. At the heart of both concepts – the production of a local culture through the everyday life and the creation of heritage through narratives – lies the values system.

5.4.1. The culture of everyday life

As previously stated in Alivizatou’s analysis on intangible heritage 2007), over the last decades there has been a shift in the understanding of heritage from a historical perspective of it towards an anthropological vision, where people have taken a significant role both as performer and custodian of living cultures. This shift has been encapsulated into the 2003 Convention as well, where communities have been understood as part of heritage not only in terms of possessors of skills, performers and guardians, but also as creators of heritage (Rudolff and Rymond 2013). “In such

a view, of course, the intangible elements of cultural heritage are given a more important role and the notion of cultural heritage is expanded beyond the monuments and sites themselves to their socio-cultural and economic contexts" (Blake 2009:48).

Cultural practices have always been the expression of certain people doing things in a specific way: they are the result of past cultural elements performed in the present, where they can be modified and changed in the encounter with the surrounding environment over time. Communities then are also creators of their culture by performing it. A group's culture is the result of what they have been taught by the social group they belong. What their group teaches them is, in turn, the result of a long history of relationships with the environment and among people (Ingold 2011). People very often do not realise how they work from a cultural point of view as their everyday actions and behaviours, along with their thoughts, seem to be an obvious way to interact, think and feel, in other words to exist. But people do it in a certain way as they are following specific cultural models (Fabietti 2015). It is like people are prepared effectively to face the physical and moral worlds surrounding them. This predisposition derives from the assimilation of cultural models: it is what Pierre Bourdieu calls habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1990, 1990a; cf. chapter 6). In this perspective, a culture is a complex of models, which have been passed on, acquired and selected by generations. Cultures are dynamic and change over time in accordance with their physiological internal changes (Balandier 1973) or as a consequence of the encounter with other cultures. The sense of belonging felt by an individual towards a group is made possible by the sharing, at least partially, of specific cultural models (Fabietti 2015).

The way people behave and act, as stated above, is perceived as natural and it falls within the sphere of the everyday life. Everyday life consists of activities that people

repeat over and over again, at regular intervals, and they go nearly unnoticed; these activities work out at a cyclical time and are interrupted by unexpected events (Martin 2003). Fairclough recognises that what matters to people is what is around them in their daily life (Fairclough *et al.* 2008). Everyday life is the display of habitus, but it is also the framework where some expressions of heritage, mainly intangible ones, appear, and where some cultural practices find space and act, often at unconscious levels. It is saturated with cultural meanings and effects, and even though it feels natural and innocent, it is actually inhabited and shaped by politics and power (Martin 2003:50).

The link between politics and everyday life has been highlighted by Brett Farmer (2003) when reporting the work of both Gramsci and Foucault. Brett Farmer (2003) affirms that Gramsci has been the pioneer of the “theory of hegemony”, which highlights that power in modern societies is not generally exercised through coercion or forge but through consensus (Gramsci 1971), and it often opens to resistance and dissent. The same position has been embraced by Foucoult. Gramsci has pushed is theory ahead by applying it to the Italian situation just after the Unification: he coined the expressions of “hegemonic culture” and “subaltern culture” to indicate respectively the culture of dominant groups and the culture of the lower classes (Gramsci 1948 – 1951). The dialectical relationship between hegemonic and subaltern cultures has been redeveloped by Hebdige (1979), who argues that youth subcultures are engaged in an indirect challenge to hegemony: the consumption of practices of subcultures operate as forms of resistant bricolage by the re-appropriation and reconfiguration of mainstream forms and objects in ways that disrupt hegemonic systems of social order. In the Italian panorama of the post Unification period, this situation was taken to the extremes (Cirese 1982) and it

resulted in the birth of some of the current local cultures of the peninsula. All these themes will be reconnected with the case study in the following chapters; what it is interesting to note here is the political use of the everyday life and culture, mainly understood as a locus of both domination and dissent forms (Brett Framer 2003), which, if translated into the heritage discourse, recalls the parallelism between the official and unofficial heritage along with the political discourse underneath it of authorised versus alternative heritage discourses (Harrison 2010, 2013; Smith 2006).

Elements of the everyday life, such as some cultural practices, have been used in the past with political ends: it is the case of the invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Cultural expressions have been turned into heritage in a kind of recycling process (Skounti 2009), where cultural facts were identified as typical and characteristic of a group of people, often for political ends, and then, through the media, turned into heritage to support created identities (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Skounti (2009:77) defines this system as an “authentic illusion” as members of communities truly trust their traditions as real and rooted into history, and they often neglect their artificial character. Intangible heritage expressions are particularity suitable for this political processes of heritage and identity creation as they are believed to be anchored to a past beyond memory, and to places.

Two more interesting themes are significantly related to the everyday life and to the case study as well: those are the themes of eating as a practice of consumption and a cultural system, and the places. Eating is a practice of consumption with several ends: it expresses identity (Probyn 2000; Yue 2003); it produces new meanings – some cultural shifts in fact are reflected in historical changes in the consumption of food – and it can even be use politically to retaliate against some food producers (De Certeau 1984). Eating is also a cultural system: it implies a choice of ingredients,

methods of preparation, ways of consumption, styles of table manners, and compatibility of types of food to different social classes (Levi-Strauss 1966). Bourdieu (1984) supports Levi Strauss's link between food and social classes by affirming that taste classifies different groups according to different classes, where the more refined tastes are often linked to upper classes. It comes that eating is a social practice and taste is culturally shaped and socially constructed (Levi-Strauss 1970). I would add that eating as a cultural system is intrinsically linked with the territory: people, mainly in the past and before the globalisation of trade, used to eat what the land produced. The way of preparing dishes and the choice of ingredients, rooted into local traditions, are expressions of culture.

The spaces of everyday life are spaces of familiarity, which stand in contrast to other kinds of spaces that express a sense of novelty or strangeness; spaces of everyday life are also produced by everyday culture and power relations, and they are active in producing our everyday cultural experience (Martin 2003). Everyday life is full of cultural meanings as well as places. There is an exchange and emotional attachment of people towards their environment as people attribute meanings and values to it. Often this "attachment is rooted in what professionals would easily recognise as heritage values (tradition, association, the social value of places) if the places themselves did not look so undistinguished" (Kaufman 2013:28). Swensen, drawing on the geographer Relph and the philosopher Casey's works (Relph 1976; Casey 2001), affirms that landscape is all around people every time they go out. It consists of things that people can see but also that cannot see: it is not just visual experience but also a sensual one, "such as smell, sound, touch or taste [which] influence the memories that people have of places or material structures" (Swensen *et al.* 2013:5). Landscape for locals is something to perceive and experience, it is people's

experiences of lived spaces towards which there is proper bodily attachment, and it also provides the essence of places (Swensen *et al.* 2013). Sarashima (2013:138), quoting Tilley (1994), also affirms that “place is not a mere container of people’s action, but a medium of people’s bodily experience of action and of the meaning of being in the place according to their intention, social condition, class and politics. Landscape is a humanised place, existing through the linear time-space relationships of people who are ‘being there’ and their memories of the past”.

Experiencing the landscape through the mediation of the intangible elements of culture, such as the way people live, behave and act, enforces the sense of identity. The way people love and experience the place can create a sense of self through the contact with others; it is what Tilley calls the effect of the ‘lived consciousness’ of a place, which leads people to establish an identity, as highlighted by Sarashima (2013). The author, drawing upon both Tilley on cultural identity and place (Tilley 1994), and Bender (1989), claims that “in the context of these phenomenological statements, intangible heritage must be considered as a part of human life through which people live, experience, feel and communicate their being in a particular place. Through the experience of daily life in their habitual space and their contact with other people, practitioners recognise it as their ‘tradition’ or their ‘culture’. Without the spatial interrelationships of people inside and outside of the space, the recognition of intangible heritage is not possible. In fact, in the intangible heritage list, all cultural forms are represented as belonging to particular places” (Sarashima 2013:138). From here, it is clear the link between places and people through heritage in enforcing the sense of belonging.

The attachment towards some places can be revealed in different ways, often associated to memories, narratives or lived experiences. The emotional attachment

to places revealed by people is an important part of how people attribute meanings and values to the environment (Kaufman 2013), and very often it follows that narratives and memories are key elements to turn usual venues into places with a meaning, or even “items” from the past into heritage. Attachment towards places is the result of narratives or memories related to those places. Stories can underline subjective memories, which in turn, are linked to sensual affiliations, smell, sounds and visual perceptions (Swensen *et al.* 2013). To amplify the significant role of stories associated to places or heritage, Kaufman has coined the word “storyscape” to indicate the simple idea that stories people tell about places can reveal which places matter to them and the reason behind that. Stories are not just anecdotes, they are memories and traditions. Narratives tell also how people create meaningful relationships with places and how places become important to people (Kaufman 2013). Stories and narratives then tell the values people give to places and heritage (Rudolff 2005). Through narratives, usual places can become heritage: they may have been experienced by people telling stories or by those being told stories about them; “and it is this narrative format, so different from the language of scientific analysis, that opens the window into how people form meaningful relationships with places, and conversely, how places become important to people” (Kaufman 2013:27). Each person has a different story and then the meanings of places as well as people’s feeling for them will also different. Narratives can give meanings to cultural representations, places, objects, practices and landscape because they are underlined by intangible values.

5.5. Places and sense of place

In chapter 2 the process of region-building has been debated. A different discourse is to be set up for the concept of place and the sense of place arising from it. Paasi (1986a), drawing upon May (1970), argues that regions and places are different concepts, where places possess a perceptual unity that regions lack. A place is “a phenomenon that is structured in the process of one’s everyday life and hence is based on the day-to-day practices of individuals. Places are where time and space of individuals are reflected in day to day life, consisting of experiences which people has lived through, and where individuals reproduce their material and intellectual existence (Paasi 1986a:112). Places are embedded with meanings and values, which, by knowledge, turn a simple space into place (Tuan 1977). To get to know a place, it is essential to experience it (Casey 1996).

Characteristic of places, as opposed to institutionalised regions that are interpreted as a category with an explicit collective dimension, is the relationship with one’s daily life focused on individuality (Paasi 1984, 1986). Tuan states that places can even overstep one’s everyday environment to embrace larger spatial unit by the use of symbolic means (Tuan 1976). On the contrary, regions are not experienced directly and they are mediated in people’s daily life; moreover they often imply both historicity and control (Berger and Luckmann 1976). They are “institutional sphere of *longue durée* representing one specific dimension of the spatial structure of the society” (Paasi 1986a:114) and have a collective dimension, which is being continually “reproduced by institutionally embedded power relations that influence the socialisation of individuals” (Paasi 1986a:139). To sum up, places and regions are distinct concepts on the basis of their relationship with the everyday practices and experiences of individuals. Paasi explicitly affirms that:

"the concept of place expresses the structuration processes through which the everyday practices of individuals and institutional power relations emerge out of each other, in addition to which the essence of place lies in the meanings that individuals associate with their physical, cultural and social environments. The region, on the other hand, is an entity that cannot be experienced directly, but is represented in the everyday lives of individuals by symbolic means through political, economic, legal and other institutions and the power relations associated with them"

(Paasi 1986a:139).

It follows that places are the most suitable dimension where heritage can be experienced, become heritage itself conveying a sense of place.

5.5.1. Place and identity: when heritage conveys a sense of place

Places can be an aspect of one's identity and many authors have written about this relationship in terms of place attachment (Altman and Low 1992; Giuliani 1991; Moore and Graefe 1994), and place identity (Lalli 1992; Proshansky et al. 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Twigger-Ross and Uzzell have made a distinction between place identification, which expresses a person's identification with a place and membership of a group of people defined by location (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996:206), and place identity, a concept borrowed from Proshansky (Proshansky *et al.* 1983), which represents a component of self-identity being "another aspect of identity comparable to social identity that describes person's socialisation with the physical world" (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996:206). Place identity is socially

constructed, debatable, contextualised and in becoming (Ashworth and Graham 2005).

Those conceptualisations of the relationship between identity and place have their roots in the identity process model elaborated by Breakwell (1986, 1992, 1993). This model proposes four principles of identity: self-esteem, distinctiveness and continuity, and self-efficacy – the latter was added to the theory only later. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell state that self-esteem consists of a positive evaluation of the self and one's feeling of social value, which could come from the qualities of a place; distinctiveness refers to the desire to keep personal distinctiveness often based on place identifications; continuity is the concept of continuity over time and can be subdivided into place-referent continuity (continuity through places with more specific and emotional significance) and place-congruent continuity (continuity through places with generic characteristics); and finally self-efficacy, representing people's capabilities to meet situational demands (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). On the basis of this model, and on the work of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, Hawke (2010) affirms that three main factors in the Breakwell's model, that are self-esteem, distinctiveness and continuity, are underpinned by forms of heritage, which contribute to convey a sense of place.

In accordance with Hawke's view, heritage supports self-esteem through a sense of pride perceived by people living close to it or in historic cities. It is not just a positive evaluation of the place, but it is associated with a feeling of pride, which has an impact upon one's self-esteem (Hawke 2010; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Distinctiveness (and uniqueness) is remarked by the feeling of heritage being unique, which enforces the sense of being distinctive from others (Hawke 2010). Finally, heritage supports continuity over time: "heritage as place, or heritage places, may not

only be conceived as representational of past human experiences but also of creating an effect on current experiences and perceptions of the world. Thus, a heritage place may represent or stand in for a sense of identity and belonging for particular individuals or groups" (Smith 2006:77). In this view, people and places interact through the everyday, where "heritage is a process of people working to locate their identity within their cultural and historical context" (Hawke 2010:7). Heritage stand for a *memory talk* (Degnen 2005) to reinforce identity feelings and insideness by associating particular types of cultural heritage to the concept of self (Hawke 2010). Places, like heritage, can also inspire memories about the self in terms of past, present and future (Basso 1996). Sense of place gives sense of the past. Sense of place and sense of time are linked together through heritage (Pred 1984), which ensures continuity across time. Personal connections and meanings are built up over time: this implies that places become connected with today people and their ancestors by adding temporal depth to these relations (Vedru 2011:53). All these three factors confirm that the relationship between place and identity is supported by heritage as an element that contributes to the creation of sense of place.

The essence of place is said to lie in a sense of place, a largely unselfconscious feeling of belonging to one's place" (Paasi 1986a:111; Relph 1976: Tuan 1977). The sense of place, or spirit of place or *genius loci*, is intimately related to the concept of localness: often ordinary and everyday places are filled with local significance, mainly for their inhabitants (Schofield and Szymansky 2011). The sense of place can be conveyed through many features (Hawke 2010), such as elements from nature (Atkinson 2007) or intangible expressions of heritage (Smith 2006): "odours can lend a character to objects and places, making them distinctive, easier to identify and

remember" (Tuan 1977:11), as well as sounds can evoke social impressions, or taste, which can related to a place in terms of local culinary traditions (Schofield and Szymansky 2011). All these experimental senses can contribute to local character as well. The sense of place is a personal feeling of attachment to specific places when inside them, and it is also what one remembers about it; it is the memory and the associations made about a place (Agnew 1987; Clouse and Dixit 2017). Individuals remember the unique atmosphere of places as it relates to them and their interests (Billig 2005); places remind people or make them think, of the past (Robertson 2012:206), often with nostalgic sentiments. Sense of place goes beyond aesthetic appreciations (Davis 2010), and it can provide contrasting feelings: it often raises sentiments of security, belonging and stability (Hay 1998) characterising places as somewhere to return (Schofield and Szymansky 2011). On the other hand, sometimes places are not always comfortable and welcoming, and they can accommodate dissonances, for instance by being related to atrocities and discriminations. In these cases, places can become dissonant heritage places (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Ashworth and Graham (2005:87) argue that "there are unofficial senses of place and time, which may exist independently from the official forms": a visitor to heritage places may interpret their meanings differently or dissonantly, from the ones projected by authorities. In this case, some forms of heritage host official and unofficial sense of places, the latter often being a rejection of the former one.

In addition to supporting sense of place and enforcing the sense of belonging and identity, heritage may also generate conflicts, in case of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), or contribute to shaping the image of a place, even for places hosting dissonant heritage (Battilani, Bernini and Mariotti 2018). The image

of a place is the result of impressions and ideas people hold in relation to a place (Crompton 1979), and it incorporates several concepts including brand, visual image, reputation, the sense of place, and the identity of the people (Clouse and Dixit 2017). Place image, as Clouse and Dixit state, is the result of the above five components, which are schematised below:

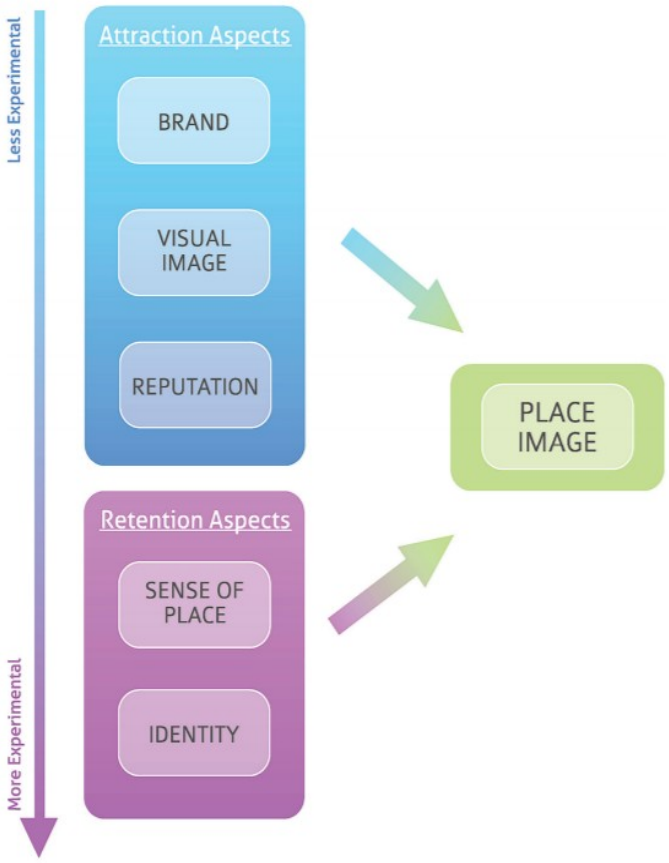

Figure 5-1 Conceptual Model of Place Image
(From Clouse and Dixit 2017:9).

The above model shows the five concepts of place image split in two groups: Clouse and Dixit (2017:9) call them *attraction focus* – brand, visual image and reputation – and *retention focus* – sense of place and identity. The five concepts of place image described above have just been outlined here. This research is going to focus on the

retention concepts of sense of place and identity (regional identity), however, as a natural flow of these discourses, the other components of place image, such as brand, visual image and reputation can suggest some ways forward in terms of further studies on heritage commodification and tourism to be applied to the case study. It is based on the assumption that regional identities, being dynamic and socially constructed by people for different purposes over time, can be commodified (Simon 2005) by turning them into products to be bought and sold (Holloway and Hubbard 2001), mainly in relation to their cultural and regional symbols, such as elements of the landscape, traditional cuisine, regional language and typical art (Ray 1998).

5.6. Values as “heritage”: heritage through narratives and knowledge

As stated in the previous chapter, heritage is not something given form the past, but it is a cultural process of making it. People create heritage in the present as they perceive “something” (an object, a place, a site, a landscape, a cultural practice, it could be everything) as significant and important. People give them values which turn an anonymous item into heritage. In this perspective, what it means in the process are those values behind any heritage. People value items or places because they mean to them, and in these terms heritage is not just a trace of the past but mainly a source of cultural identity (Graham *et al.* 2000). The bond between heritage and identity is strong: heritage has often been created to produce a sense of belonging at any scales, ranging from nationalisms associated to the creation of new (or relatively new) nations over the last centuries, to the aggregation of people in communities on the basis of shared stories, objects, symbols performances, places and other aspects

of heritage in terms of group identity (Russell 2009). The production of a cultural identity associated to heritage involves a consensus on shared knowledge and values of 'us' and the 'other' (Low and Altman, 1992:11). Shared values and their knowledge then are necessary prerequisites for the identity creation process in relation to heritage: "identity creation processes are an important means of rootedness in that they strengthen local pride and the definition of community" (Rudolff 2010:36). Cultural identity of communities is then anchored to signified and signifying items – heritage – on the basis of shared knowledge and awareness. Cultural representations, into which identity is projected, are then social facts continuously negotiated (Pearce 2000).

Narratives and stories associated to places and heritage, in addition to revealing values associated to them, generate knowledge, which are shared by a community and inform the sense of belonging and identity of the community itself. The importance of knowledge as a producer of meaning in the identity process has been highlighted by Rudolff (2010), Graham (2002), and Berger and Luckmann, who affirm that "it is precisely that knowledge that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist" (Berger and Luckmann 1976:27). Knowledge of places, objects, and sites passed down through narratives and stories give meanings to them and turn them into heritage by assigning values. Drawing on the works of Darvill (1994, 2005) and Berger and Luckmann (1976), Rudolff (2010) adopts an interesting way to interlink the key concepts of values, meaning, identity, heritage, knowledge and legitimation. The author sees a cyclical process characterised by different stages, which correspond to the keywords highlighted above, linked to each other in a circular structure. It is interesting to note that the author starts the circle with the

word “knowledge” rather than values (although they are at the basis on the creation of the heritage). Rudolff continues her analysis by arguing that:

“knowledge, in combination with the following two stations, legitimation and values, identifies a sub-process of heritage construction, which we can call value definition. Legitimation, the binding element of this sub-process, forms the basis of value judgements by ascribing cognitive validity to the objectivated meanings gathered as knowledge”

(Rudolff 2010:67).

“In other words, ‘knowledge’ precedes ‘values’ in the legitimation” (Berger and Luckmann, quoted in Rudolff 2010:68). In this view, values, which emerge from pre-knowledge, are the result of knowledge validation. Knowledge are never fixed, they usually increase over time and differ from one person to another one. Also values, as stated in Chapter 4, can change: they change over time and in response to different contexts, and they are negotiated in social interaction (Rudolff 2010). Rudolff’s analysis of the values system continues by arguing that:

“The term ‘values’ does not only signify the existence of values but the process of creating, negotiating and validating these values, not only against the legitimated pre-knowledge but also against the individual social surroundings. Social validation requires an exchange of values between individuals, which is facilitated by signifiers. Objects, processes and expressions, on which values are projected form the spatial dimension of heritage construction and function as reference-systems in the narratives that aim to convey values” (Rudolff 2010:69). Heritage is a projection of values. Rudolff sees direct links between values and heritage, significance and heritage as well as meaning and heritage: values express significance of a cultural

representation, which in the end reveal meanings. “Meaning explains the connection of values (or significance) and the cultural representations and expressions in form of narratives” (Rudolff 2010:68). From here, meanings might have two ends: the first one is the closure of the small circle by providing information for the generation of new knowledge; the second end could be a contribution to the formation of identity, as a result of the earlier processes, where identity is constituted. Identity then needs to be projected as well, like values, “not simply as a signifier but rather as an anchor for the preservation (knowing) of identity-constituting narratives. […] Heritage functions as the projection screen, the expression and representation” (Rudolff 2010:69) and “local heritage values are not necessarily just intangible stories but are based on material objects or related to specific places (Swensen *et al.* 2013:4).

Heritage is then a projection of both values and identity. Every heritage is someone’s heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), and it is particularly suitable to locate one’s self, to express identity by creating knowledge of both the self and others. Heritage goes beyond the merely keywords of values, identity, knowledge, but it is the projection of all these elements into tangible and intangible expressions via narratives: “it is narratives that make the cycle allegeable. And it is via narratives that we share the different stages of the cycle, that we share heritage” (Rudolff 2010:69). Narratives and stories, like the storyscape of Kaufman (Kaufman 2013), are then key elements to understand what people reckon it is important to remember and why. Narratives explain values and knowledge to create heritage, and heritage “is assumed to provide a physical representation and reality to the ephemeral and slippery concept of identity” (Smith 2006:48).

Coming back to the concept of values, which are at the heart of the heritage process, it has been stated that narratives reveal values behind places, objects, practices and

sites. It has been highlighted that heritage is a projection of values (and expression of identity), which turn usual things, places and practices into heritage. The focus then should be on heritage values rather than their manifestation, or expression, in tangible or intangible heritage: “heritage […] can never be solely tangible or exclusive intangible. Intangible and tangible rather have to be seen as the two extremes of a gradual scale” (Rudolff 2010:70). Rudolff also affirms that heritage is constructed by values people give it, which are often shared and negotiated by connecting stories, and that heritage divisions are made for administrative and professional purposes, what it matters are the values attached to items (Rudolff 2005). “The item itself whether intangible or tangible, whether immovable or movable, whether visible or audible is merely a projection screen of our values which in return perceived via the item make our heritage. […] In the case of heritage the content, the meaning derives from the source which are the values attributed to an item” (Rudolff 2005:3). Heritage values are continuously created and negotiated among societies. A community sharing heritage is a community sharing values and stories learned in particular cultural, intellectual and historical contexts (Lipe 1984:2). Heritage values are mental constructs that hardly exist tangibly; they are only attributed to something tangible: when attributed to tangible things, they are more readable, while when attributed to intangible things, they are more difficult to catch (Rudolff 2010; Truscott 2003).

Having assumed that heritage is constructed and that what matters are values attached to items, such as objects, places and practices, it is possible to follow that heritage divisions, although in use for logic and administrative purposes, are inconsistent and are often a reflection of the different types of values attached to it. Also the participation in the heritage expressions is different on the basis of different values: intangible heritage expressions are perceived as more intimate, closer to

someone's personal identity, more rooted into the everyday life and more suitable for personal narratives, which make those heritage expressions part of the process of negotiating culture, they are cultural manifestations and socially constructed. They often become a symbol of a specific cultural identity through narratives and stories. On the contrary, tangible heritage expressions are perceived as far from a personal identity, located into the realm of professionals and experts, and often with political purposes within the authorised heritage discourse, to which subaltern heritage can be opposed (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Smith 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009). They can be the subject of narratives and stories, which make them closer, otherwise they might remain far away from the intimacy.

Following this path is risky as it could lead us to slip again on the paradoxes of heritage highlighted in the chapter 4, along with all the consequences already described and criticised in favour of a more holistic approach to the conceptualisation of heritage as a unique and united concept of heritage as created and sustained by values and narratives. It is undeniable that heritage manifestations are expressions of certain values which feed the dichotomy tangible and intangible. It is undeniable that intangible heritage is more rooted into the locality for its bond with cultural practices and everyday life than great monuments or sites. It is undeniable that this dualism make heritage separated into tangible remains and the intangible into meanings, values, memories and feeling (Smith 2006): heritage experts think and know, whereas people feel and believe (Mattison 2006:97). However, I strongly support a holistic understanding of heritage, where the distinction between tangible and intangible is purely practical, as the formation of two categories of specialists confirms (Rudolff 2010). "Tangible can only be understood and interpreted through the intangible, and society and values are thus intrinsically linked (Munjeri 2004).

Values turn some practices, objects and places into heritage, that means they are heritage themselves. Values are intangible but not imperceptible: people can experience them through one of their senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch, depending on the degree of materiality or immateriality, and heritage range from non-material dimension of a heritage element to the most intangible aspect (Skounti 2009:77). Memories often recall moments, people, place, objects and feelings associated to experiences occurred through the senses.

5.7. Conclusions

In this chapter, a hint of the history of intangible heritage has been given as a cause of concern among heritage professionals and those outside the discipline, and how these concerns have tried to be addressed by the 2003 Convention adopted by UNESCO. The great merit of the Convention has been the involvement of communities in performing and safeguarding intangible heritage, but some limits have emerged as well. Some of the paradoxes could result in losing the specificity of intangible heritage linked to a particular culture and as an expression of the dialectic relationship between the people who created it and their environment (Alivizatou 2007). In their work, UNESCO tried to conciliate their universal purposes with the locality and diversity of cultures, but it sounded like a paradox in its mission.

Communities are central in the 2003 Convention and the framework where communities unconsciously act by producing and performing their cultures is represented by the everyday life: through the way people behave, act and think, the habitus (for Bourdieu's theory see next chapter) is displayed and cultural practices can easily become heritage mainly in the expressions of intangible heritage.

Everyday life is full of cultural meanings and power relationships, and it can be even politically used. Everyday life is also a distinctive mark of places: places differ from regions in virtue of their relation with the everyday life. Places are experienced and known spaces embedded with meanings and values and conveying a sense of place. This is a feeling that results from memories, experiences, practices and narratives occurring in the relationships between a community and the landscape understood as host of physical features connected by narratives of lived experiences (Harrington 2004). Within this relationship, heritage may play a significant part in conveying sense of place.

Narratives and stories, along with collective memories, give meanings and values to common spaces, practices, objects and monuments. It is through narratives that values of places are revealed and at the basis of this revelation, there is knowledge. Shared knowledge, awareness, narratives, cultural practices and heritage contribute to the creation of groups identity, which, in turn, is expressed through cultural symbols, often intangible heritage, and belonging to the everyday life.

6. HABITUS: A STRUCTURED AND STRUCTURING "STRUCTURE" GENERATING PRACTICES

6.1. Introduction

This chapter is going to explore another significant theme related to the bond between local communities and heritage, mainly intangible and unofficial ones: the concept of habitus. In this chapter it is argued that a key notion to understand from a sociological point of view some of the reasons how Romagnolian people behave in a certain way, think of and interpret the social reality in similar manner, often adopt the same life-style, and share same tastes and preferences, is represented by the Bourdieuian concept of habitus. The notion of habitus brings some light on the reasons behind the development of certain practices in Romagna, and mainly it is able to combine the past, the present and the future in a continuous flow, where heritage expressions, mainly intangible, are involved. This notion enforces the idea that the past, that is our history, is brought forward to the present in terms of dispositions or tendencies, which both shape our attitude and inform our current choices. Habitus generates practices supported by heritage. Habitus does not work alone in order to generate practices: also field and capital – two more thinking tools – are involved in this process. The strength of the concept of habitus lies in the dialectic process of past, present and future, in terms of the past carried forward in the present and able to inform it, and the present, in turn, shaping the future. All these themes will be the focus of this chapter, and particular attention will be given to cultural and social capital for their involvement in the heritage process (such as its understanding, appreciation, and commodification). Notions of habitus, intangible

heritage and unofficial heritage will be interlinked together following to the presentation of the fieldwork's results in the last and conclusive chapter.

6.2. Habitus and the cultural climate generating it

"A set of acquired dispositions of thought, behaviour, and taste, which is said by Pierre Bourdieu (1977) *to constitute the link between social structures and social practices (or social actions)".*

(Scott and Gordon 1998:260)

This definition of habitus has been taken from the Dictionary of Sociology and has been brought into this study because it is thought that habitus represents the contextual framework within which the concept of Romagnoliness can find social explanations and, in turn, legitimate its status. Bourdieu developed the conceptualisation of habitus in the 1970s – 1980s, starting from Panofsky's thoughts. Panofsky's concept of habitus was not new, but it had some deeper roots. Initially, it identified an old philosophical notion originating from the thought of Aristotle, who called it *hexis*, meaning an acquired yet entrenched state of moral character that oriented one's feelings and desires in a situation, and thence one's actions (Wacquant 2016:65). The Greek word *hexis* was also in use to signify deportment, the manner and style in which actors carry themselves: stance, gait, gesture and so on (Jenkins 1993). Then, the concept was brought forward in the Roman world where it was translated into the word *habitus* (from the Latin verb *habere*, meaning "to have", "to hold"), and it was used to indicate a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body. In this definition, the concept has been extensively used by other philosophers such as Hegel, Weber and Durkheim. From

the classic world, the notion was later used by Thomas Aquinas and during the Medieval Scholastics (Jenkins 1993). Subsequently, it did not receive much attention but it was finally retrieved in the 20th century by some authors: Norbert Elias first, and by Pierre Bourdieu later. In fact, it was only from the 1970s that the concept became relevant within the sociological debate animating that period thanks to the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977, 1984-1986, 1989, 1990, 1998), who defined it as a key notion to "forge a dispositional theory of action suited to reintroducing the inventive capacity of agents within structuralist anthropology" (Wacquant 2016:64).

In the 70's and 80's, the academic debate on social science was influenced by the contributions and thoughts of many authors, such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, but also Giddens, Thompson and Williams from whom Bourdieu focused on some ideas such as the dialectic between structure and agency (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990). Although initially inspired by Marx and his political and economic discourses, Bourdieu sought to break with modern Marxism as it was too oriented towards political and economic dominance resulting in neglect of the social field (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990). In addition to providing a more comprehensive approach to the social world than the work of Marx, Bourdieu, in all his works starting from the long field work in Algeria, had tried to overcome the dualism between objectivism and subjectivism, which was animating the sociological debate of the 1970s.

Once he comprehended that the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism could be reduced to a dialectic debate between the two modes of knowledge, Bourdieu's further step was to elaborate the concept of habitus. In fact, Bourdieu's definition of habitus is expressed in several parts of his works, mainly in *The Logic of Practice* (Bourdieu 1990), and *In Other Words* (Bourdieu 1990a), but it is a persistent

notion which underpins the all Bourdieuian thought. The most quoted definitions of habitus define it as a “system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action" (Bourdieu 1990a:12-13), or as a system of “durable, transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990:53). In Bourdieu’s thought, habitus shapes the way agents (individual or collective) understand, interpret and act in everyday life. This concept is clearly exposed in Wacquant’s terms as “a mediating notion that helps us revoke the common sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality, that is, the way society becomes deposited in persons in the forms of lasting depositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu” (Wacquant 2004:318). Therefore, Bourdieu’s use of habitus is similar to the Greek meaning of *hexis*: “it is in bodily *hexis* that the idyosinchronic (the personal) combines with the synchronic (the social). [Habitus] is the mediating link between individuals’ subjective worlds and the cultural world into which they are born and which they share with others” (Jenkins 1993:75). Bodily *hexis* is “political mythology realised, embodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and of feeling and thinking” (Bourdieu 1977:93). To use Grenfell words, Bourdieu’s “theory of practice was to account for what he saw as an ontological complicity between structures and internalised structures” (Grenfell 2008:45).

From here, it derives that habitus is essentially the way in which the culture of a particular social group is embodied (internalised) in the individual, during the socialisation process beginning in early childhood. Habitus as *hexis* is then "society

written into the body, into the biological individual" (Bourdieu 1990a:63). This embodied culture provides the basis for a particular set of durable dispositions such as ways of acting, seeing and making sense of the world. Habitus then is not a set of consciously held beliefs or values. It designates a practical competency, acquired on and for action that operates beneath the level of consciousness and that encapsulates not a natural but a social aptitude, which is variable across time, place and distributions of power (Wacquant 2004). Habitus is a kind of second nature, ever present in people's tastes for particular kinds of food or music or even political choices, as well as in the way people talk, walk, or dress, within and among individuals of the same groups and distinguishes their life style (Wacquant 2004). Habitus also operates as a kind of tacit knowledge, at subconscious level (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990) enabling people to deal with a wide variety of situations in predictable ways, but without people consciously following a set of rules – rather like the way individuals carry out their everyday routines.

A key concept within the notion of habitus is represented by dispositions. Jenkins argues that dispositions are acquired through social experiences but he accused Bourdieu of providing unclear explanations in terms of how dispositions are gained (Jenkins 1993). Dispositions of habitus are acquired informally through the experience of social interactions by process of imitation, repetition, role-play and game participation, and have a role in the formation of self-identity (Swartz 2002:626). Swartz (2002:627) also argues that dispositions suggest that "past socialisation predisposes individuals to act out what they have internalised from past experience but it does not determine them to do so". Moreover, dispositions are neither mechanistic causes nor voluntary impulses – once again here can be seen the dialectic between objectivism and subjectivism. Habitus "provides continuity

between the past and the present" (Swartz 2002:666): it is a link between the past, present and future, as well as a link between social and individual, objective and subjective, and also a link between structure and agency (Maton 2008).

The concept of disposition is a key one in the habitus theory. "Habitus is a system of durable, transposable dispositions which function as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices" (Bourdieu 1984: vii). It is a structure because it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned; it is structured by one's past and present circumstances, such as family and education experiences; finally, it is structuring because one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices (Maton 2008). Therefore, this structure comprises a series of dispositions that generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (Maton 2008:51), or, to use Bourdieu's words, habitus is composed of "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (Bourdieu 1990:52).

In Bourdieu's mind, habitus is an enduring but not a deterministic concept. The structure of the habitus evolves, dispositions are durable (last over time) and transposable (capable of becoming active within a wide variety of theatres of social action) but not immutable (Maton 2008:56). Dispositions are socially framed and can be corroded, and even dismantled, by exposure to new external forces (Wacquant 2004). However, habitus is almost immune to major and sudden upset, although changes may happen with different conditions and circumstances (Hillier and Rooksby 2002; Mutch 2003; Noble and Watkins 2003; Sweetman 2003). Thus,

habitus can change depending on circumstances and changes external to the social group (Jenkins 1993). Jenkins (1993) identifies two types of habitus: on the one side, there is the habitus as embodied in individuals, acquired through experience in everyday life, mainly in early life, and representing a dialectical process between subjectivity (habitus) and objective reality. On the other hand, there is the habitus as shared body dispositions, whose outcome is the collective history: “the habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history” (Bourdieu 1990:54).

To make even more explicit what habitus is, I would like to quote in full Maton’s definition of it as it represents a clear summary of all the above themes:

“Habitus focuses on our ways of eating, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry our history, how we bring this history in our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others. This is an ongoing and active process – we are engaged in a continuous process of making history, but not under conditions entirely of our own making. Where we are in life at any one moment is the result of numberless events in the past that have shaped our path”

(Maton 2008:52).

I will embrace Maton’s definition to delineate the role of habitus (individual and collective) both in shaping the feeling of being Romagnolian as it is perceived by the local community and tourists, and legitimising the role of heritage within the habitus structure. Now, in order to understand how habitus works and how it generates practices, it is essential to clarify that habitus does not act alone as already explained in this introduction, but it works in a kind of unconscious relation with two other concepts – field and capital – within the theory of practice.

6.3. Habitus, field, capital: in other words how practices are generated

In Bourdieu's theory of practice, habitus cannot work alone: it makes agents do certain things, it provides a basis for the generation of practice, which are produced in and by the encounter between the habitus and its dispositions, on the one hand, and the constraints, demands and opportunities of the social field or market to which the habitus is appropriate or within which the agent is moving, on the other hand (Bourdieu 1977:52-65). This implies that other concepts are involved in the production of practices: these concepts are those of *field* and *capital*. The way all these notions interact with each other in order to product practices is given by the following formula:

{(habitus) (capital)} + field = practice

(Bourdieu 1979:101)

The above formula highlights that practices are the result of a relation between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field) (Grenfell 2008:51).

6.3.1. Field

Habitus generates actions not in a social vacuum but in structured social contexts, which can be defined as fields (Swartz 2002). Jenkins (1993) gives a more challenging definition of field by emphasising the notion of struggles: in fact, he affirms that field is a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes; each field has a different logic and taken for granted structure of necessity and relevance, which is both the product and producer

of the habitus, which is specific and appropriate to the field. It comes that a field is a structured field of social positions which are occupied by agents; it is structured internally by power relationships that can produce position changes in accordance with access to resources (capital), which are at the stake in the field (Jenkins 1993). As highlighted above, fields are mainly fields of struggle for positions within it, and are defined by a system of objective relations of power between social positions, which correspond to a system of objective relations between symbolic points (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990).

Bourdieu stresses the importance of relations within fields: in fact, he argues that to think of field is to think relationally (Wacquant 1989). A field, he states, is a "network of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of species of power (capital), whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions" (Bourdieu quoted in Wacquant 1989:39). Agents, be they individual or groups, tend to preserve or improve their positions within fields by implementing strategies, which aim at increasing or exchanging the capital agents possess with respect to the field they are acting within. From here emerges the competitive character of fields related to struggles, as well as the importance of implementing successful strategies to maintain or improve one's position.

In many of his works, Bourdieu makes clear the concept of field as a field of struggles and forces by affirming that agents and groups of agents are defined by their relative positions within the space; and within the space there are forces (field of forces) which provoke interactions among agents (Bourdieu 1985). These forces or power are represented by capital. Agents (individual or groups or institutions) are positioned

in the social field according to the volume and composition of the capital they possess.

Wacquant (1989) also explains that fields can be various: economic field, artistic field, religious field, and all of them follow specific logics. Bourdieu thinks of a social world made up of multiple fields where large fields can be split into subfields, and where each field follows the overall logic of its field along with its own internal logic (Thomson 2008). The social space, or social world, consists of a social reality comprising multiple fields that are interrelated, like a football field with boundaries, where players have a role and can move based on their position (Thomson 2008): the social space of the individual is connected over time to a series of fields, within which people struggle for various forms of capital (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990). Swartz argues that the “dispositions of habitus tend to reproduce past behaviour successfully only in fields where the constraints and the opportunities are similar to those present during the formative period of the habitus” (Swartz 2002:656). Forces that move their agents are represented by their capital.

6.3.2. Capital (cultural and social capitals)

Inevitably, the notion of capital recalls Karl Marx’s work. As stated in the previous paragraph, Bourdieu has taken some distance from the modern Marxism in terms of economic and political notion of capital by putting some emphasis on other forms of capital more relevant in the social world. The four forms of power or capital, which might be at the stake in the field, in Bourdieu’s view are economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital.

Economic capital is the most evident form of capital and can be immediately and directly converted into money; cultural capital is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the forms of educational qualifications; social capital, made up of social obligations is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital; it may be institutionalised in the forms of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986). Last form of capital, the symbolic one, is the form in which the other forms of capital (economic, cultural and social one) are perceived and recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu 1985). Symbolic capital is not instrumental, it is disinterested and of intrinsic worth (Moore in Grenfell 2008:101). The most powerful conversion to be made is into symbolic capital, which represents consensus and power by giving individuals a known and recognised identity, which, in turn, might confer economic and cultural capital (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990). All these types of capital can be exchanged. Capital must exist within field in order for the field to have meaning; the connection between field, habitus and capital is direct (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 1990).

As previously stated, capital represents the powers or forces that agents possess in a specific field in order to move their positions in that field. Individuals have a particular amount and composition of capital, given by the family first, and then acquired, over time, through education or career, which confer agents a position. The nature of positions is to be found in their relations to the relevant form of capital (Jenkins 1993). In general, “dispositions of habitus draw on types of power resources, or capital that enact practices. Habituses are formed with different amount and composition of capital, and capital can be inherited from the family or accumulated in career” (Swartz 2002:654).

Cultural Capital

For Bourdieu, in sociological studies, the importance of cultural capital is equivalent to the one of economic capital – and here Bourdieu distances himself from Marx – as he argues that power and dominance derive not only from the possession of economic and material resources but also from cultural and social ones (Crossley 2008).

Cultural capital is passed down from generation to generation through habitus formed within the family (Willekens and Lievens 2014). Bourdieu argues that cultural capital can exist in three forms (Bourdieu 1986): in the embodied state, that means that cultural capital is embodied within the corporality of the person as principles of consciousness in predispositions and propensities, and in physical features (long-lasting dispositions in the mind and body), such as body language, stances and life style choices. The acquisition of embodied cultural capital is identical to the formation of habitus: an integration of mind and body harmoniously adapted to specialised habitus (field), and transposable beyond them (Moore 2008:112). The second form of cultural capital is expressed by its objectified state, in other words cultural goods materialised in things such as works of art, pictures, books, galleries, museums, and so on (Bourdieu 1986). Finally, cultural capital is in the institutionalised state, for instance educational qualifications, the most important agency for the formation of habitus, immediately after the family and the domestic habitus (Moore 2008:105). It follows that cultural capital – mainly in its embodied state – cannot be divorced by the person and can only be acquired through time (Grenfell 2008). For Bourdieu, the embodied state of cultural capital is the most significant as he notes that “the most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment” (Bourdieu 1986:244).

Cultural capital in embodied states specifically refers to the knowledge people acquire over time mainly through socialisation and education. The more people acquire embodied cultural capital, the more they seek to gain it. People often act and display embodied cultural capital mainly when they interact with other, and they do it in an unconscious way.

Social capital

Bourdieu affirms that social capital represents the network of relations among people. It is made up of social obligations that may be convertible in economic capital. Social capital can be institutionalised as a title of nobility. The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections they can effectively mobilise and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in their own right by each of those to whom they are connected. This implies that social capital is not independent but it is related to the other forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986).

6.3.3. Practices

To return to the main question *how are practices generated?* Maton argues that practices are the result of an unconscious relation between a habitus and a field (one's current circumstances): the physical and social spaces one's occupies are structured, and it is the relationship between these two structures that gives rise to practices (Maton 2008:51). Practices are "an effect of actions and interactions which are shaped, simultaneously and in equal measure, by the habitus and capital of agents, as well as the context and dynamism constituted by their shared participation in a common game" (Crossley 2003:44). From Bourdieu's and Maton's definitions, it

comes that practices are the product of a dialectic relationship between a given situation and a habitus, which vary across time, place and power distributions in different fields (Moncriffe 2006; Navarro 2006). Thus, practices are located in space and time, they are not consciously organised nor just happen, but they come up as actors, to whom they are an integral part, have grown up with them, have learnt them. Agents acquire a set of practical cultural competences, including a social identity (Jenkins 1993:50). The unconscious character of practices is highlighted by Jenkins, who adds that people do not think about their social world as they do not have to as natives are assumed to be ignorant of their own situation (Jenkins 1993). People find themselves acting and behaving is a certain way, which seems to be unconscious and natural, but in reality the principles behind them, are not (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1989).

“The habitus carries the history of the place and, inextricably, links the past to the present” (Campelo et al. 2014:160). Synthetically, in practice – that means in habitus – is the history. Jenkins (1993) makes that concept even more linear by enforcing the link between practices and history: he affirms that history culminates in ongoing series of moments and is constantly carried forward in a process of production and reproduction in the practices of everyday life. Therefore, he argues that the taken for granted history is the foundation of the habitus and, in turn, is a set of likely outcomes, which are the product of what people do (practices). Practices, in turn, are the product of the habitus and serve, at the same time, to reproduce it: “habitus is the ongoing culmination of history” (Jenkins 1993:80). Practices are in between consciousness and unconsciousness, and enacted by agents. The unconsciousness is never anything other than the forgetting history itself produces (Bourdieu 1977). On this acceptation, Bourdieu is not far from Durkheim when affirming that in each of us,

in different amount, there is part of yesterday's man, whom we do not sense as he is inveterate in us, but he makes up the unconscious part of ourselves (Durkheim 1938:16).

"Practice is neither the mechanical precipitate of structural dictates nor the result of the intentional pursuit of goals by individuals, but rather the product of a dialectic relationship between a situation and a habitus, understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions which, integrating all past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions, and make it possible to accomplish infinitely differentiated tasks, thanks to the analogical transfer of schemata acquired in prior practice" (Bourdieu 1972/1977:261, quoted in Wacquant 2005:381). Therefore, the concept of time is encapsulated within the notion of habitus in forms of specific historical circumstances: in other words sociology and history go in parallel. The relations between history and sociology as two concepts which should never be divorced, is stressed by Bourdieu himself when affirming that "all sociology should be historical and all history sociological" (Wacquant 1989:37).

From all the themes and discourses developed above, it looks like habitus is not fixed, it is enduring but not static nor eternal (Hilgers 2009); it is not just repeated behaviour from the past, because it is both constituted by past experiences and constitutive of ongoing practices (Swartz 2002). Habitus is neither a deterministic notion: the same habitus can produce different practices in accordance with what is happening in that field (Jenkins 1993). The rationale behind this acceptation is that dispositions are acquired in social positions within a field and imply subjective adjustment, such as person's own knowledge and understanding of the world. As Harker et al. argue (1990), dispositions, which constitute the habitus, may change in

virtue of different positions within fields: socialising agents may produce some changes to dispositions thus to the habitus: during childhood, between a child and the world, familiar people intervene by exposing the child to ritual practices, discourses, saying, all structured in accordance with the principles corresponding to their own habitus (Bourdieu 1977). As a consequence, that child is disposed to see and understand the world in the same way, however, rapid changes and influences along with the objective conditions of the material and social environment will not be the same for the new generation, therefore the habitus changes with each sequence or iteration (Harker et al.1990) exactly because the habitus is inculcated as much, if not more, by experience as by explicit teaching (Jenkins 1993:76). The earliest experiences mark more than others the perceptions one has of the world and the practices resulting from them; however, individuals during their lives often go through processes of education, ageing, and other experiences, including drawing on resources, which can modify their habitus (Hilgers 2009:737).

6.4 Criticisms to Bourdieu's theory of habitus

The concept of habitus has been the focus of serious criticisms mainly in relation to the lack of adaptability, which has led to consider Bourdieu's theory too structuralist and determinist (Brubaker 1985; Garnham and Williams 1980; Gorder 1980; Swartz 1977; Wacquant 1987). Those authors argue that being habitus determined by objective conditions and being it internalised by people, then social changes would be impossible to occur (King 2000:427). Therefore, habitus becomes a perpetuated and repeated structure dictating people how to act. It looks a determinist concept, where social agents are acting according to the order provided by habitus rather than doing what they want to do (Yang 2014:1525).

Bourdieu rejected the accuse of determinism by affirming that changes are taken into account in the reproduction of habitus and even influence it mainly during the early phases of socialisation (Bourdieu 2000; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). To overcome the immutability of habitus and take social changes into account, Bourdieu elaborated a few concepts: the concept of hysteresis effect (Bourdieu 1984, 1996), which occurs when "the habitus lag behind the objective material conditions which gave rise to it and which the habitus has to catch up" (King 2000:427); the "methodological inculcation" of habitus or explicit inculcation (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), which is related to the acquisition of knowledge and cultural capital by individuals sourced aside of familiarisation, such as scholastic inculcation and strategic planning (Yang 2014); finally, the concept of reflexivity as "the ability to consider themselves in relation to their social context and others in the same contest is a regular mental exercise, shared by all of us" (Yang 2014:1529).

Although Bourdieu tried to explain how changes can occur within habitus and in the relationship between fields and capitals, his theory sounded like a determinist concept where the power of agency is limited: he failed to give credit to the active role of agents in the transmission of practices. Agents are understood as "passive recipients of the social forces which reproduce themselves through the internalised structure" (Yang 2014:1528), and individuals are not allowed any choices or strategies as those are "already given by the habitus which is itself determined by their objective, prior and, therefore, unchangeable position in the field" (King 2000:425).

A further critique to Bourdieu's habitus, which will be reflected in the analysis of data, is represented by the spatial dimension where habitus is re-produced because it can influence the way of reproduction and transmission of practices. The relationship

between social and physical spaces was highlighted by Bourdieu's work (1985): social space tends to retranslate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties (1985:107). In particular, Bourdieu affirms that the ability to dominate appropriated space depends on the capital possessed, for instance "those who are deprived of capital are pushed away and held at a remove, either physically (relegated to distant locales" (1985:109). "Social space, as an abstract space constituted by the ensemble of sub-spaces or fields (economic, intellectual, artistic, academic, bureaucratic, etc.) owing their structure to the unequal distribution of a particular species of capital, can be grasped as the form of the structure of the distribution of the various species of capital that function both as instruments and stakes of struggle in the different fields" (Bourdieu 1985:109; 1984). The work that habitus does with capital, in relation to the social space or field, generates different practices, which are reflected in the agents' physical spaces. This point is quite significant in relation t the case study as practices are generated differently in accordance with the physical space where they are performed as the fieldwork's results have demonstrated.

To conclude this paragraph, I would like to highlight the value of habitus as a tool for social reproduction, which can be applied to the case study. However, I would also like to focus on some limits of it mainly represented by the neglected active role of agents in shaping habitus. Agents have the power to face changes that normally happen within any social world, and have the power to embrace, shape or reject them modifying the current social reproduction conveyed through the notion of habitus as the case study will confirm.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the concept of habitus elaborated by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu defined habitus as a series of dispositions that shape the way people behave and act. People get these dispositions first from the familiar environment, then through socialisation and education. Habitus is embodied in people and influences the way they act. Habitus generates practice, and in doing so, it operates within structured social contexts (fields), where people can acquire (or change) their position by using certain resources or power (capital). The theoretical notion underling the concept of habitus is that the past is carried forward into the present in terms of tendencies and dispositions (the way certain people unconsciously act, behave, talk, taste, think, and even their gesture, in other words their practices). In turn, the present is able to shape the future. This is a particularly interesting theme in relation to the case study as it may explain, along with the conceptualisation of intangible heritage, why local people behave in a certain way and feel so attached to their practices. In accordance with Bourdieu's thoughts, habitus is not a static concept as it can change over time in line with surrounding circumstances. However, the theory has been defined as determinist as it does not take into account the real power of agency in making changes.

Data Description and Analysis

7. ROMAGNA FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE PLACE OF AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY

“Boarders are defined in the minds of people and not by claims. Where people perceive themselves as Romagnolian, that is Romagna”

(Balzani 2017)

7.1. Introduction

One of the primary aims of the three-months fieldwork was to establish the perception of Romagna as it is seen and experienced by some randomly chosen members of the local community. I asked them several questions on Romagna: my aim was to understand what Romagna was, how it was perceived by its inhabitants, and the feeling of being Romagnolian. Themes raised ranged from the significance of the territory, the still-meaningful traditional cultural practices and the invisible bonds among local community members based on intangible feelings and experiences.

7.2. Characteristics of Romagna and the feeling of being Romagnolian

From the large amount of interviews and questionnaires I gathered, a strong relationship between the local community members and the land where they live has emerged. In accordance with nearly the totality of data collected, this bond is based

on several features, such as sharing typical local traditions, the appreciation of a peculiar landscape as well as the character of Romagnolian inhabitants. An emotional feeling towards the idea of Romagna has also emerged: by this definition, I mean the mental picture every single interviewee keeps in their mind when they were asked what Romagna was for them and what this meant.

7.2.1. Romagna is….

“What is Romagna for you?”

How many times I have asked this question to interviewees and how many times I have received back an instinctive sigh immediately followed by the sharp comment: “Oh oh, such a tough question to start with!” Many Romagnolians have encountered some initial difficulties when they had to discuss this apparently easy theme: they often asked for a bit of time to think about it thoroughly. This approach was welcomed by me as I interpreted it as a need of people to think carefully about it in order to answer it openly and precisely. After giving interviewees some time to reflect about the deepness of the question and their possible answers based on their personal experiences, I listened to a wide range of identifications of the Romagna itself, spreading from intangible and intimate definitions such as “home”, “roots”, “a way of living” and “a state of mind”, to more material and practical aspects such as “a land” or “a part of a region”, or even identifications with more tummy pleasure loving items such as typical food dishes and wines, categories that in the end can be brought back both to tangibility and intangibility depending on interpretations. Among the many emotional and intangible definitions of Romagna, a great number of answers related to the character of local people and their values along with their beloved local

traditions. Whatever identifications people used to express their personal perceptions of Romagna, a deep and strong sense of attachment towards this land and its soul has emerged in almost all of the interviewees and from all questionnaires. Affectional statements towards this land were also supported by people affirming their pride in belonging to this community.

Extracts from some interviews and questionnaires highlight these points (further interviews are in the Appendix D):

"Romagna is the land where I was born, of course, but it is mainly my roots and a way of gathering together […]. I feel completely immerse into this […]. There is a feeling of love towards my traditions and everything surrounds them, I live well with them" [middle-age woman, office worker].

"Romagna is my roots; all my ancestors, as far as I know, are Romagnolian and my husband's family as well […]. In just one word, Romagna is my roots" [middle-age woman, office worker].

"It is my land, the land of my origins, of my ancestors, my grandparents, the land of all my memories" [middle-age woman, University worker]

"Romagnolians are quite peculiar. Romagna is a delicious tea break, a good glass of wine; moreover, there is its artistic aspects which people are interested in. Romagna is conviviality, that is" [elder woman, teacher]

"*Romagna is many things: welcoming people, delicious food, history and authenticity"* [young woman, office worker]

"Romagna is an enchanting place, a place where I can take refuge in and relax. It is also hidden places to slowly discovery" [young woman, B&B owner]

"Romagna is the life. It is sun and joy of living, full of hard workers. If you hear someone saying that Romagna is just entertainment, do not believe that, Romagnolians are hard workers first, and then they think about enjoying their lives" [elder woman, shop clerk].

"Romagna is piadina [traditional type of flat bread]*, good food and even better beverage […]. It is the warmth of people, who are open and sometimes false at the same time"* [young woman, office worker]

"It is a big village, where people have genuine and simple values, a land of agricultural, open and straightforward people" [young man, shop clerk]

"Such a hard question! Romagna is our roots, we [Romagnolians] *are really attached to our Romagna, we feel part of it"* [young woman]

"Romagna is a defined land, not sure it is defined in terms of geographical boundaries, but surely it is defined by cultural elements and sense of belonging" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"It is not just a geographical entity but is a body of traditions" [middle-age man, historian]

"Romagna is my land, my home, my culture. Romagna is me" [young woman, office worker]

Listening to the recordings of interviews many times and reading their transcriptions, has allowed me to pay particular attention to some topics. Themes raised from the above interviews and questionnaires have been identified as follows:

- Love for the territory: Romagna is mainly a state of mind since its boundaries are not well established yet, and its confines remain still unknown by the majority of interviewees. In spite of the general lack of knowledge on the geography of Romagna, this land is identified as homeland, where Romagnolians can hardly live away from.

- Romagna is a land of ancestors, roots and origins: a powerful bond between the current Romagna, identified as home, and the past has been highlighted mainly through personal and family events. Romagna is then personal and collective history of people sharing the same past.

- Romagna is perceived as a set of experiences occurred mainly during childhood of local members: Romagna is a collection of memories rooted in people's youth, events and experiences, which have shaped the way local people have grown up and have been educated to.

- Melting pot of traditions and habits: the way people act and behave and their habits can come up suddenly, in an unconscious way without expecting them to turn up. This theme can be related to the notion of habitus, therefore a kind of unconscious formation and education within people.

- Romagna as familiar places where to find refuge and recovery: this land is seen by local inhabitants as a place where to find a refuge. People identify some places or some parts of its landscapes as embedded with specific

values, which create a sense of place. The Romagnolian landscape is something familiar for its inhabitants.

- Romagna as typical food and dialect: those forms of cultural practices, turned into intangible heritage represent the soul of Romagna for its inhabitants.

- Romagna as the character of the people living there: here again the idea of habitus is predominant in the way local people display themselves and act.

I would like to point the attention on a couple of interviews, which I believe summarise the majority of the themes raised above:

"[…] Romagna is all things I have learnt since my childhood, therefore it is essentially a way of speaking, of moving, of thinking and cooking, which belonged to my grandparents, who looked after me when I was young. All these things are Romagna. […] I perceive a sense of belonging towards Romagna, it is impossible not to feel it, there has been an initial imprinting towards a specific way of living, which I do not know where it comes from, for instance I speak Romagnolian dialect but I am not sure how I learnt it. In addition to that, I believe, there is a set of memories linked to parents, grandparents and relatives; and also some places, which you want to discover in the present on the basis of stories close people told you when you were young […], for instance the old fishmonger where your grandmother used to buy fish, or the old cinema where your grandfather used to mark tickets. […] And now, you go out for a dinner and often you find yourself around a table with unknown people but all together singing "Romagna Mia" song. This does not happen in the other Italian regions […] therefore Romagna is a melting pot of many things, starting from stories told by grandparents up to personal and lived experiences" [young man, businessman].

This interview gathers together the theme of childhood, when an “imprinting” towards a culture is given, and the habitus as a “way of speaking, thinking”. It is the habitus concept that works to impress a certain culture and generate practices. It results in a sense of belonging towards the land and a specific way of living.

And again from another interview:

“Romagna is what an author, whose name I have forgotten now, has written, Romagna is a state of mind. A state of mind as it is not a territory geographically well defined, if you look for the Romagna’s confines, everyone, every Romagnolian, will tell you their own idea of confines, there will be someone including wrongly territories belonging to the broader Emilia-Romagna, which are not Romagna; I myself would have difficulties in defining its confines, and probably I am not interested in defining them. It is a state of mind, a place where people have used their creativity as a strength, supported by a territory which has a lot to offer, on top of which Romagnolians have added their creativity […]. For instance, look now at the sea, the sea here [this interview was carried out at a sight distance from the Adriatic see]*, it is greenish, not really pleasant, but it attracts tourism, because the facilities* [as a result of Romagnolian creativity] *that this part of the region offers are great”.* [young man, librarian].

The above emotional perception of Romagna has transpired from the majority of responses. In addition to that, there have been just a few remaining questionnaires and interviews that have highlighted how some local members identify Romagna predominantly as a physical and geographical area. In fact, a few comments were addressed to the physicality of the area by defining it as a region or territory, or as part of the broader region of Emilia-Romagna, or generally as a historic and cultural

region of Italy, and a geographical and cultural place full of traditions. Definitions of Romagna, therefore, have been various, however, the majority of interviewees have perceived the region as a state of mind – therefore something emotional and intangible – where Romagnolians can find their origins and roots, and identify it as home. It has also emerged that Romagna is a place with well-established traditions and a defined culture towards which people feel a strong sense of belonging based on emotional perceptions of it rather than material objects.

These themes – the love for the territory, the link with origins and ancestors, experiences from the past and during childhood, the strong bond and love for local traditions and habits, the identification of familiar places as places of recovery, as well as its food, landscape and, not least, the people – are supported and reinforced by what has emerged from the answers to the second question I asked: do you feel Romagnolian? The following paragraph will be exploring the answers to the second question on the feeling of being Romagnolian in order to create a broader picture of both Romagna and Romagnoliness.

7.2.2. Feeling Romagnolian and reasons behind this sentiment

Once I have tried to understand what Romagna was for the local people, I have sought to comprehend what being Romagnolian meant for local members and the reasons behind that feeling. Firstly, I asked interviewees whether they felt Romagnolian: from their words and tune of voice, I have immediately received confirmation of that, and I have also perceived a kind of pride in belonging to this community and being born in this territory. A few words to confirm these outcomes are below:

“Of course I feel Romagnolian” [middle-age man, self-employed]

“I feel Romagnolian in everything” [very old woman, housewife]

“Yes, 100% Romagnolian” [elder man, musician]

“I feel I am Romagnolian down to the bones” [young woman, office worker]

“I feel Romagnolian and I am proud of being so” [middle-age man, self-employed]

The above selection of responses have been extracted to show the feeling of sense of belonging that this community holds. Among the majority of all responses, there were a simple “yes”, however I have also collected some feedback not completely supporting the sense of belonging. There have been some negative comments on this respect as well where a local member affirmed they did not to feel themselves as being Romagnolian, although they have not given any further explanations to support their denial. Another example showed the interviewee did not feel Romagnolian mainly for political reasons, due to the fact that Romagna is well-known for being a left party land, that is why it is also called “red land” for its past and present political orientation toward the left party. Considering that not supportive and denial responses were just a few, in general, positive answers to the question “do you feel Romagnolian?” confirmed the perceptions that being Romagnolian is part of local people’s identity, in other words local members identify themselves with the status of being Romagnolian. This has given me a solid step from which I could progress my research by searching what being Romagnolian meant and identifying some of the characteristics of Romagna in accordance with local community’s views.

It has been understood that being Romagnolian is something within and inside the local people, an emotional feeling which comes out and assumes certain

characteristics. Two interviewees have summarised the character of Romagnolians by using a popular saying that sounds approximately as follows: “when someone arrives in Emilia-Romagna, if it is in the Emilia land, he or she will be offered a glass of water, while if it is in Romagna he or she will be offered a glass of wine”. This proverb, being far from pointing Romagnolians as alcoholic, just highlights the conviviality and hospitality of the people living in Romagna, which have been identified as one of the main typical features of Romagnolians. Another substantial bunch of answers were related to the bond of Romagnolians with their traditions and cultural practices. Commonly, the answers I gained when asking what being Romagnolian meant to local people, were again of various types, however it has been possible to group them into a few well defined themes:

- being Romagnolian means embracing certain characteristics and traditions, as well as sharing specific values generally recognised;

- being Romagnolian also means being sometimes rough and not acculturated, but always genuine;

- the real Romagna is mainly found in the countryside (Fig.7.1 and 7.2): if someone wants to look for it, he or she has to go to the countryside and possibly has to spend a few words with elder people at local bars (typical Italian coffee shop – Fig.7.3).

Figure 7-1 Countryside between Ravenna and Cesena

(Photo by the author).

Figure 7-2 Countryside near the village of Gradara (Pesaro-Urbino).

(Photo by the author).

Figure 7-3 Elderly people playing cards outside a bar

(From the web: https://www.ilrestodelcarlino.it/bologna/cronaca/anziani-ricetta-vincente-centenari-1.180919).

A few extracts from interviews and questionnaires may emphasise these aspects.

"It means trying to value all opportunities both my city and my land can give me […] I am proud of my city and its monuments, and I take my non-local friends around the city as a tour guide. […] A part from people living in Ravenna, who are different, Romagnolians are welcoming, jovial, light and simple in a positive way, they do not oppress you but try to make you feel comfortable and take everything easy" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Being Romagnolian is a set of habits that I have slowly recognised, mainly when confronting myself with non-local people or abroad, such as when I use my dialect and I realise that there is no better way to express a concept than my dialect […]. It is expansiveness, which sometimes may result in being rude, there is a thin line between being expansive and rude, and often for Romagnolians is it easy to cross that limit […]. It is a way of taking the life... let's say easy, superficial but with a positive meaning. […] I can see the character of Romagnolians in simple things, the love for food …although we do not have a refined culinary art. […] It is in this attitude,

which easily become rough, that you can find what being Romagnolian means and you can find the real Romagna if you go to the countryside and talk to elder people, they can open to you a new world" [young woman, art sector]

"Being Romagnolian means having a set of flaws that all together make you fun, such as stubbornness, obstinacy, diffidence, indolence and intellectual Byzantinism" [young man, solicitor]

"It is how we behave, for instance I always say that everyone is welcomed at my home but they have to behave properly, otherwise I can become naughty" [middle-age man]

"Between us and people from Emilia there is a gulf in the way of living, in the character and how we relate to others" [young man, worker]

"I feel Romagnolian as I embody some of the characteristics of Romagnolian people, I would say mainly because I know these characteristics. Well, Romagnolians are obstinate people, stubborn, essentially agricultural people, let's say good people in the end [middle-age man, sail maker]

"It is simplicity and genuineness, I can see Romagna in the values passed on to me by my parents, concrete values which reflect the history of this land, such as the two worldwide wars, but it is also gathering together and good food" [young woman, office worker]

"I feel Romagnolian in the way of presenting myself to others, always with irony, happy, something linked to our traditions, for instance the use of dialect […] which expresses common says understandable probably by a local person, but that

embody some truths and realities related to the way of living here" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I feel it in our traditions, I believe there is a Romagnolian character and I embody it perfectly" [young woman, art sector]

"In our traditions, our food, our tenacity, which makes us different from people living in Emilia, we are more open mind" [middle-age man, office worker]

"It is our dialect, our food and our traditions" [young man, heritage consultant]

"It means giving the extra mile, being creative and a little bit nostalgic. It is hospitality, happiness and strength" [young woman, office worker]

"It means patriarchal family made of nucleus able to organise themselves toward the common wealth" [middle-age man]

The last interview reported is particularly interesting as it shows a political nature of the feeling of being Romagnolian. In fact, political traits underline the whole history of Romagna and its traditions in a direct way, but they are also present in the way of living of local people. I am referring, for instance, to the way people get together nowadays as a social habits: this practice can be rooted into the political trend of aggregation and cooperation, which was typical of the area mainly after the Second World War (Ridolfi 1990). A kind of political identity then pervades many aspects of Romagna and of the feeling of being Romagnolian, not only for its general political orientations, but also for the political roots of contemporary attitudes and feelings.

From all the above, it was clear that the majority of local members perceived Romagna as a unique land towards which they have emotional feelings related to

childhood, memories, ancestors and roots. They feel Romagnolian, and what it means to them is mainly related to the landscape, characteristic of the land, such as its products, food and wine, and above all, the character of its inhabitants, which can be summarised as follows: hard workers, frank, open, straightforward, hospitable, enthusiastic, full of creativity, cheerful, attached to politic, sanguine, able to enjoy the life and its pleasures, sunny, lovers of good food and beverage, genuine, simple, positive and family oriented. One interview summarises well all these points by affirming that being Romagnolian is all this such as gathering together, agricultural background, hard workers and enjoying the daily life. In addition to this broad portfolio of characteristics, they also are sometimes rough and obstinate. They are mainly attached to their landscape and traditions. The latter theme of living traditions and their importance to local people will be fully explored in the next chapter. All these themes easily recall the themes discovered in the previous paragraph in relation to what Romagna is with more focus, in here, on traditions, local people character and landscape.

To conclude, the first two questions I asked during the fieldwork have tried to explore what Romagna is for its inhabitants (the *what*), and how they perceive it along with their feelings (the *how*). Below is a summary of the findings, along with the broader academic topics these findings can be reconnected to for a full analysis in the concluding chapter:

The “what*”:*

- *the love for the territory*This theme can be reconnected to the notion of imagined community: Romagna is primarily an imagined community

- *Romagna as a land of ancestors, roots and origins.* Romagna shows a great value of the past and continuity with it

- *Romagna as a set of experiences occurred and lived mainly during local members' childhoods*. This recalls the idea of the past brought into the present through the notion of habitus. Time plays an important role in this process.

- Romagna as a *melting pot of traditions and habits*. Again the idea of habitus is here predominant, and it is based on both notions of collective memories and cultural practices generating heritage

- Romagna as a specific landscape full of *familiar places where to find refuge and recovery.* The landscape is culturally meaningful to convey sense of place.

- Romagna as *typical food and local products.* These themes are related to the notion of everyday life and intangible heritage

- Romagna as the *character of the people* living there. Again the idea of habitus is central to this theme.

The "how":

- being Romagnolian means *embracing certain characteristics and traditions*. These themes are connected with the notions of habitus, heritage, cultural practices and collective memories

- being Romagnolian also means showing a *certain character:* Theme related to the idea of habitus

- the real Romagna is mainly found in *the countryside.* Place and sense of place are here the dominant themes.

From the above, it has emerged that all current characteristics of Romagna, its perception and even their inhabitants, have been brought from the past to the present and the majority of them are still alive and perceived as real and meaningful from the local community. Nowadays, local people perceive themselves (people) and their territory (place) as something valuable and meaningful. Local people are aware that their character and their land come from the past. The past has been brought to the present through traditions and experiences in the childhood, which are constantly recreated in the present. The modality of this recreation into the present are not fixed but can be variable to adjust themselves to the current circumstances and changes. The passage of the past into the present is a continuous process but its main parts occur during childhood via experiences and with the support mainly of family members. The transmission of traditions is then related to continuity over time. From the above, three main topics have emerged – landscape, past and people – and they can be developed into more academic topics such as the idea of an imagined community, the sense of place that this land emanates, the past understood as origins, roots and ancestry, but also as past experiences and traditions which are still alive and meaningful through time and valuable into the present, and finally the character of people, which, again, is something coming from the past and brought into the present along with its historical flavours. The idea of the past brought into the present in Romagna is strong and it is valid mainly when talking about the character of its inhabitants, their traditions which are still alive and active to some extent, and the landscape that assumes the role of place of recovery for local people because of its associations with memories and experiences mainly occurred into the childhood.

All these themes together can make Romagna a beloved place and a land of emotional feelings, where theories of regional identity, place identity, sense of place, habitus, cultural practices, traditions and memories, often embedded with political origins and ends, can merge with the conceptualisation of heritage. Romagna represents an extraordinary research area to undertake a study on the relationship between heritage and community, and to develop the interlinked themes of intangible and unofficial heritage, habitus and local community.

7.3. Differences between Romagna and Emilia and between Ravenna and "the rest" of Romagna

To remark the specific character of Romagna, I would like to point out a couple of issues raised during interviews while talking about what being Romagnolian meant to the local community members. I am referring to a couple of aspects that remark the condition of Romagna. First of all, the difference between Romagna and Emilia, which is just the other half of the region; and the peculiar character of Ravenna, which is one of the three main Romagnolian cities. Although they are not crucial issues for this research, I believe they deserve a bit of consideration in relation to the understanding of the Romagnolian world and the link with its historic past brought into the present. In several interviews some historic differences between Romagna and Emilia have emerged. This is not a banal point as it will be seen later on, because, in accordance with some local people's views, these differences, coming from the historical and political management of this land, may have led to both the current sub-regional business models and the different character of people living in

the two parts of the region. Here emerges again the idea of the past influencing the present. An interview highlights this point:

"[Romagna] has a different history, not properly with an industrial character, but more oriented towards a simple and not cultural tourism, probably more inclined to entertainment. I think that when we talk about Romagna, and not Ravenna, I talk about Romagna itself, there is this tendency towards entertainment, which makes even its inhabitants different from, for example, the more cultivated Bologna, or in general from the more industrial Emilia" [middle-age woman, office worker]

Therefore, different political management of the land through time (that means its historical politics) have resulted in the orientation of specific cultures, which differ from one part of the region to the other one. The last extract also highlights another key topic: the different character of Ravenna and its inhabitants in comparison with the other cities of Romagna. Further interviews have confirmed that perception:

"Ravenna is partially closed, closed in terms of mind and historically. It was chosen as a capital of the Byzantine Empire for silly reasons, capital of a decant empire within a marshy land, full of rivers and canals, completely different from Bologna. Romagna has had a catholic domination with the Pontifical State; it had a different domination from Emilia. […] and Ravenna was excluded from the main traffic and commercial routes (ed. Emilia road)" [middle-age man, solicitor]

"I see some differences between Ravenna and the rest of Romagna, mainly between Ravenna and the cities on the via Emilia, the road. The main distinction is that they lie on one of the main traffic and commercial routes, more open and with a more important recent history, I am talking about cities from Imola, Forli', Cesena and Rimini; on the contrary, we [ed. Ravenna] have become rich quite recently. One of

the main characteristic of the people living in Ravenna is the lack of understanding, knowledge and awareness of their cultural treasure, […] I have never seen such a situation in other cities, only here in Ravenna" [middle-age man, sail maker]

"Ravenna is close, it is shut, it is different" [young woman, biologist]

From the above, it is clear that Ravenna has a particular character, slightly different from the rest of Romagna (CENSIS 2003). It has emerged that the city is quite close, cold and not properly friendly with people coming from outside, mainly in comparison to the other Romagnolian cities. Some interviewees have identified the reasons behind this behaviour again in the historical and geographical past of the city: being far from the main commercial routes, such as via Emilia, means that the city has developed a diffident approach to everything coming from outside. It looks like the city has not been able to open itself to the outside, that is the reason of its close character. The geographical distance from the via Emilia, may have influenced the history of the city, which dedicated their interests to something different from commercial targets. Geographical configuration and political decisions in the past have had an influence on the current city's character as well: from a pure geographical point of view, Ravenna in the past was surrounded by canals and swamplands (Fig.7.4), which made the city look like an island, and enforced its character of isolation and diffidence towards foreigners (Fig.7.5 and 7.6).

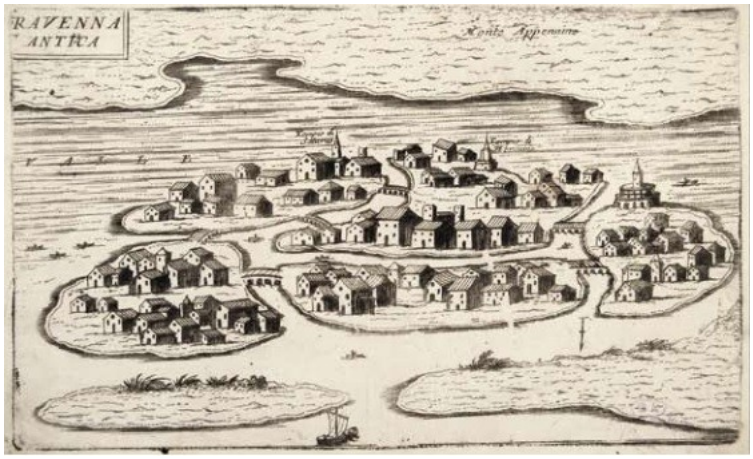

Figure 7-4 Ancient map of Ravenna showing canals.

(From the web: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Storia_di_Ravenna).

Figure 7-5. 3D Reconstruction of Ravenna in the 2nd century AD.

(From the web: https://design.tre.digital/progetti/beni-culturali/29-ricostruzione-in-3d-ravenna-antica).

Figure 7-6. 3D Reconstruction of Ravenna in the 6th century AD.
(From the web: https://design.tre.digital/progetti/beni-culturali/29-ricostruzione-in-3d-ravenna-antica).

From some interviewees, it has emerged that Ravenna and its inhabitants have conserved this isolated and diffident character. In addition, it has emerged that Ravenna's inhabitants are quite unaware of their cultural heritage by showing little interest in the surrounding monuments, eight of which are listed in the World Heritage List for their outstanding and universal value. People in Ravenna know a few monuments, or just their names, but they lack a real engagement with them. Although the city was an important political and strategic area in the past, with many monuments testifying its glorious past, it has never been able to convince its habitants of its cultural value, which is recognised and appreciated all over the world. In this regard, it is interesting to note what the very well-known dramaturge, actor, director, writer, painter, set designer and even Nobel prize winner Dario Fo wrote about Ravenna: "I have never known habitants [of Ravenna] so unproud of their monuments and treasures of arts that are in front of them every day: they just bypass

them, and they seem to have more serious problem to think about rather than getting fascinated and astonished by the marvels they have on their door step" (Fo 2007:5). Once again, the little interest of its inhabitants towards unique and famous monuments within the city, may probably have historical reasons, such as the strong regional identity along with the perception of Ravenna as quite distant in terms of cultural affinity and time. These themes are particularly interesting in terms of identity, place and heritage, and it will be expanded in the next chapter.

7.4. Conclusions

This chapter has explained some of the results coming from the three months fieldwork. It has primarily tried to understand what Romagna is for its inhabitants (the what), and the feelings associated with it (the how). Themes emerged are the love for the territory, which is mainly in the minds of people rather than confined into boundaries; Romagna is a land of ancestors and origins where the bond with the past is still strong and meaningful. Romagna is experiences and collective memories elaborated mainly in the childhood, along with cultural practices and traditions. Romagna is also a meaningful landscape made of familiar places where inhabitants can find both the essence of the Romagnoliness – mainly in the countryside – and places of recovery. Finally, Romagna is within the character of people, which are combined in the way they act and behave. The latter theme is related to the feeling of being Romagnolian (the how), that means embracing certain traditions and a specific temperament, such as being sometimes rough, not acculturated, but always genuine and hard working. Romagna is a way of living, a way of acting and interpreting the life, inherited by ancestors and experienced mainly through people's everyday life. Romagna is made up of all these intangible but perceivable things. It is stated that a

political identity pervades many aspects of Romagna and of the feeling of being Romagnolian. Here, sentiments of regional identity, place identity, sense of place, are all underpinned by politics and conveyed through heritage.

8. THE ROLE OF TRADITIONS AND MONUMENTS IN THE ROMAGNOLIAN IDENTITY

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter I am going to analyse in more detail the concepts of intangible cultural heritage and its role in the process of identity formation and enforcement. The aim of this analysis is to understand mainly how the feeling of Romagnoliness has raised. From the interviews carried, a significant discrepancy has emerged between the role of intangible heritage expressions, ranging from traditional practices to the local dialect, the way of living and acting of Romagnolian people, and the role of historical monuments standing on the cities where they lived. To explore the peculiar role of monuments in the shaping the identity process in Romagna, particular focus has been given to the city of Ravenna because it offers a great choice of cultural monuments. Following to the presentation of the three data sets collected (local interpretations of tangible and intangible heritage, and tourists' perceptions), I will be drawing some key concepts on the role of heritage in Romagna to deepen the theme of cultural heritage and identity in the area, which will be fully discussed in the next and concluding chapter.

8.2. Intangible cultural heritage in Romagna

As stated in chapter 5, the label of intangible cultural heritage encompasses traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our

descendants (UNESCO 2003). In Romagna social and cultural practices, defined here as “traditions”, are the main examples of intangible heritage expressions, along with traditional craftsmanship and skills, language, food, and landscape. Those elements are inherited from the past and still alive (*traditional, contemporary and living at the same time*), give a sense of identity and continuity (*inclusive*), representative and community based (UNESCO 2003).

In the previous chapter, I have explored what Romagna was for the local people and how people felt regarding the idea of being Romagnolian. From the interviews, it has clearly emerged the importance of intangible heritage and, within it, the predominant role of local traditions in defining what being Romagnolian meant. Many interviewees recognised that the idea of Romagna was intimately linked with their traditional practices along with the landscape and local dialect. Therefore, I have asked local people about the role of their cultural traditions mainly in relation to their local identity feelings: “What is the role of Romagnolian cultural traditions in your life?” It seems an easy to answer question, and for the majority of interviewees it was, although the most of them took a bit of time before answering. From here, I received an array of answers, the majority of them were all orientated towards the idea of being Romagnolian as an intimate feeling.

“Traditions are part of me” [middle-age woman, office worker]

“Feeling Romagnolian is a feeling related to local traditions. Romagnolian culture is an extremely rural culture, popular one and related to its land and traditions, which are mainly agricultural traditions. Traditions maintain our Romagnolian feeling and make ourselves feeling different and unique compared with the other communities nearby” [young man, artist]

"Romagnolians are extremely attached to their traditions and their land" [middle-age woman]

"Traditions are the identity of Romagna. […]. You always bring the identity of living in yourself" [middle-age woman, self-employed]

These answers are just an extract to highlight how important traditions are for Romagnolian people. They perceive their traditions as something influencing and shaping their process of growing up. Traditions are experiences that actively involve Romagnolian people, they are part of their life. An identification between traditions and the whole Romagnolian culture has emerged: both are seen as rural, simple, sometimes rough as Romagnolian people. Traditions have a role in the personal growth of locals, and they are an input in people's life. Many answers tried to define traditions by giving some concordant adjectives, mainly related to the countryside and the bond with the land. There are a few examples below:

"Romagnolian feeling is agricultural traditions, not only farming traditions but also a quite poor tradition, I am talking about our area, which was very poor long time ago, there were specific characteristics, I mean, the old farmer who was a bit ignorant and sometimes rough, a poor person because the Romagnolian land was poor at that time. Romagna has never been a "land of kings". Since the fall of the Roman first, and then the Byzantine empires, Romagna has been a land of nothing. In fact, our cuisine is based on simple and poor ingredients, cuisine and cooking really represent ourselves as Romagnolian. For instance we were not, and are not, Piedmontese where there is a more refined cuisine, in Romagna for instance there is no haute-patisserie tradition or fine typical desserts or cakes, here we have "ciambellone" [it is a simple doughnut made with basic ingredients]. *On the contrary,*

if you look at Naples, Palermo, Rome or Turin, these are cities were kings lived and in those cities there still is a fine haute-patisserie tradition. Or when talking about old aristocratic families during the middle age time, we may quote the city of Ferrara or even Rimini, those cities have been perceived as superior compared to other Romagnolian cities because in recent times, they have had more money and showed more healthiness. Here [in Ravenna and its surroundings]*, after the Roman empire, there has been only starvation. […] All habits a society expresses, at the end, are their tradition"* [middle-age man].

I have found this interview brilliant and extremely illuminating in terms of the analogy between land and cuisine: here, cuisine itself is not just a coherent result of the products coming from a land, but it is also a consequence of a particular political situation. In other words, the similarity is quite subtle and refined as it creates a link between politics and cuisine: a fine cuisine, which may be well represented by fine haute-patisserie, is then related to some forms of political and, mainly, to economic wellness. Cities seat of power, mainly royal power, are able to use the products of the land to create fine examples of cuisine. On the contrary, as the interview seems to suggest, poor areas such as Romagna in the period dominated by the Pontifical State, are able to produce a simple and humble cuisine. As an example of that is the typical Romagnolian dessert called *ciambellone* (Fig.8.1), which is a plain cake made with simple and poor ingredients. Ciambellone is spread all around Romagna and it is very easy both to make it and buy it from any bakeries. Slightly different is the creation of another dessert called *Teodora Cake* (Fig.8.2), which represent an exception that proves the rule.

Figure 8-1 Romagnolian ciambella

(From the web: https://www.rimini.com/news/ricette-romagnole-la-ciambella).

Figure 8-2 Teodora Cake

(From the web: https://www.pasticceriaveneziana.it/le-nostre-specialita).

The Theodora cake is a recent creation, dated 2002, and it represents the typical cake of Ravenna wanted to celebrate its historical link with the city of Byzantium. The basic ingredients of this dessert are simple because they come directly from the land, but they have been enriched by some more refined elements, such as almonds and cinnamon in order to recall the strong connection between Ravenna and the Orient. So, in this case again, the Theodora cake, which is traded in the city of Ravenna

only, is either a simple dessert in line with the Romagnolian tradition, but also an attempt of the city to elevate itself, by using more sophisticated ingredients, in virtue of the special link it had with the Orient. I have found this interview quite interesting as it has showed an attempt to read the present, in terms of present cultural practices, as something influenced by the past, and underlined by past political events.

Another interesting point raised from the interviewees, is the idea that traditions are something experienced mainly during people's childhood. Locals have talked about them with participation and pride when remembering their youth: they actively participated to perform cultural practices, which have accompanied their lives. Many memories have come out from talks on traditions and, in several cases, a sense of nostalgia has emerged for what they represented along with the fear of losing them.

"traditions are part of me as I have experienced them since my childhoods" [young man, electrician]

"I would like to pass my traditions, I studied our dialect at the primary school, I studied Romagnolian poems […] our teacher used to take us in the countryside, in a kind of farm, there was a fire and we read poems in dialect. I feel touched by remembering and talking about it. […]. essence of being Romagnolian is our traditions. In order to pass our traditions onto future generation, we need to know our traditions. Once, we had a call from an English journalist asking for an interview [the interviewee owns a bed & breakfast] *and we took her to the "oasis of Punte Alberete"* [it is a WWF area made of marshy wood where it is possible to practise birdwatching hidden into rushes – Fig.8.3]*. We showed her a different Ravenna, the one related to the territory. It is in this way that we can transmit our traditions"* [middle-age woman]

Figure 8-3 WWF Oasis of Punte Alberete (Ravenna)
(From the web: http://www.lidinordravenna.it/oasi-punte-alberete/).

"Our grandparents have passed traditions on to our parents and they did it with us. Grandparents have transmitted traditions which are not related to history of our city or its monuments, but, for instance, I am thinking about the products of our land, about all meals we have had together. For sure Romagna can be easily represented by a group of people seating around a table, where there is something to eat, some typical food of this land" [young woman, art sector]

From the above extracts, it is clear that Romagnolian traditions represent not only people's roots and their past, which both are intangible but perceivable, or the more visible land and the territory, but they also are food (Fig.8.4), dialect, and a way of sharing the life all together (Fig.8.5), it is mainly a way of living that is embodied by people, it is their character and their activities. The significance of social and cultural practices, and lived experiences, in terms of intangible heritage expressions, is undeniable: the skills transmitted to produce a particular food, speaking a specific dialect, and carrying out specific social practices and activities, are at the basis of the process of identification between Romagna and Romagnolian people. "The

importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next" (UNESCO 2003).

Figure 8-4 Typical Romagnolian food.
(Photo by the author).

Figure 8-5 People seating at a table and eating typical Romagnolian food.
(Photo by the author).

"I feel very close to my traditions, mainly the cuisine and our dialect […].I identify the Romagna mainly with our food and our dialect" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I identify Romagnoliness with our traditions rather than our monuments. It is our dialect, our home-made pasta and mosaics, and our cards games" [young woman, office worker]

"I believe that people from Rimini do not feel any historical attachment to their city. They are more interested in other things, such as the local dialect, local food, including piadina, and drinks, attachment to the sea, but for instance, they do not perceive the Roman triumphal arch, called Augustus' arch, as an historical element, but mainly as an identity one" [middle-age man, self-employed]

A bond between traditions and identity has been underlined nearly in all interviews, making it a guiding principle to be investigated further.

"local traditions are representative of our Romagnolian soul" [young woman]

"Romagnolian traditions are those which make ourselves different from others" [young woman, cabin crew]

"Traditions are significant and represent my identity. Romagnolian tradition is more based on the lived experiences than built things, it is based on what it is simple" [middle-age man]

If we gather all the answers on intangible heritage, it is possible to highlight a few key interesting points and focus the attention mainly on traditional cultural practices:

- Traditions are part of people’s life, they are an input that marks entirely people's life. Traditions become part of people's life because they are experienced, so there is an engagement with them, whose first imprint is given during childhood. Sometimes, this engagement is not active, as traditions are often tough from one generation to another one not in a teaching way, in other words, with the intention of teaching, but just by simply performing them.

- Traditions make Romagnolians feel themselves as unique people and different from the others, mainly from the nearby rest of region. In other words, they have a remarkable and distinctive trait.

- Often interviewees have identified cultural practices as something coming from the surrounding environment, or associated with the local food and dialect. The local environment is made principally of rural fields, agricultural lands and products, which have supported Romagna in terms of goods but they have also given Romagnolians part of their traditions, mainly the ones associated with the production of typical food or social practices, that were set into the landscape.

- In addition to landscape, the local food, dialect and the pleasure-loving attitude of Romagnolian inhabitants are key points emerged from the interviews. A great example of this, is represented by the fact that we can find, in two distinct interviews, the same comparison to highlight the Romagnolian people’s attitude in relation to their traditions: an imagine of a long table full of typical food and jovial, sometimes a bit rough, people. Some of the interviewees have remarked the rural origins of typical dishes, and others have also stressed the lack of haute-patisserie suggesting a link between

refined delicatessen and royal families. A special attention has been given to the local dialect as having a significant role within the Romagnolian traditions and life.

Prior to moving to the analysis of data regarding monuments, I would like to show a brief summary of what has raised from the analysis of this set of data: it seems that the configuration and characteristics of the land have shaped, or at least, influenced, part of the Romagnolian culture. The idea of a poor and humble Romagna has raised after the Pontifical State domain. Although the idea of Romagna had already been shaped before that moment, it was mainly between the 1800 and 1900 that the idea of Romagnolian traditions have been enforced, surely due to political reasons. From the fieldwork, it has emerged that traditions are the soul of Romagna and Romagnolians, they have an identity role for the majority of interviewees, and they come from the land through the expression of food (poor products as it was a poor area) and dialect, which is often rough at the same way as local people character, through the character of local people and the experiences of the landscape.

8.3. Monuments in Romagna

Following the analysis of data related to the role of traditions for local people, and considering cultural practises as heritage itself in the same way as monuments, it has been a natural flow of interviews to consider the role of monuments within the local community. I asked locals a straight and simple question in order not to influence interviewees and to obtain open answers: “What is the role of the city's monuments in your life?”. Then, I tried to find more relevant answers related to the linkage between heritage and identity by asking: “What is the role of the monuments of your city in

relation to your identity?". And then: "Is your identity represented by those monuments?". I received plenty of answers to these questions and, probably due to the fact that I asked these questions just after the ones on traditions, very often I received answers making a comparison between the two forms of heritage, although it was not a deliberate and direct point raised by me. However, I can consider these answers as a natural comparison made within an open discussion on Romagna, their cultural traditions and monuments, or to better say, about Romagna, Romagnolians and their heritage.

The main theme emerged was the idea of monuments as something related to the past, expressing the history of local places, along with a genuine and well established sense of pride due to the fact that these monuments stand in the interviewees' own cities. They are also given an aesthetic value by inhabitants. The following interviews' extracts may give a flavour of the role of built heritage in local people's views.

"In front of these greatness, I perceive them as mine, I feel fascinated, amused by their beauty. I perceive them as mine because they are in my land. I feel a sense of belonging because they rise up in this territory, which is my city. They belong to me, to my identity but in a different manner, maybe a bit more distant than Romagnolian culture." [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Our monuments are our past and our guardian, our culture descends from that culture from the past, [monuments] *are* [standing] *witnesses of our past"* [middle-age man, marketing officer]

The above interview remarks an interesting point: the idea that monuments, coming from the past, bring the past into the present as witnesses. There is a continuity from the past into the present, that is represented by monuments.

"I like the monuments in Rimini, the high street linking several monuments, it is amazing, I like it. The most beautiful thing in Rimini is when I cross the Tiberius bridge [Fig.8.6] *at the sunset, you can see the Church of Servants, that is most fascinating bit...monuments are my city"* [young woman, archaeologist]

Figure 8-6 The Tiberius Bridge, 1st century AD (Rimini).
(Photo from the web: http://www.comune.rimini.it/comune-e-citta/citta/monumenti/ponte-di-tiberio).

"monuments are important as they tell us the history and story we have been through and experienced [elder woman, politician]

"now that I am older I can perceive the beauty of monuments, they make me feel proud as I have visited them" [middle-age woman, office manager]

"I have visited all of them, they represent a tangible link with my land, they represent charm, astonishment, nostalgia for lost glorious times. Knowing monuments of your land means being aware of our roots, into which our internal identity is firmly anchored. They are symbol of the greatness and potential of our land. Monuments help us understand the story of my land, and where my roots are anchored" [young man, artist]

"Monuments are a recognisable image of our city" [middle-age man, office worker]

All the above answers have revealed the sense of belonging, pride and amusement that local people have towards their monuments, mainly due to the fact that they stand in their city, and represent part of their past. From many interviews it has emerged the underlying relationship with identity: sometimes identity is reflected into monuments mainly for their historicity, however the different role that built heritage and traditions may play in the enforcement of local identity it has emerged quite often. In some other interviews, people, while highlighting the role of monuments, have also addressed the point that not all monuments are equally important to them. I am referring to the fact that only some monuments have a meaning because they had been experienced or had been associated to a particular events, during people's life. Below, there are some examples:

"I feel engaged with our monuments […] but not all monuments, not all monuments in Ravenna, for instance the Mausoleum of Theodoric has no meaning to me, it has never had a meaning to me actually, some other monuments are different, are part of me and my life as I have visited them with my granddaddy. […]. When I lived abroad, I remembered that when talking about Ravenna, clearly we

talked about our churches with these extraordinary mosaics, that are only here [Fig.8.7]. [middle-age woman]

Figure 8-7 Galla Placidia Mausoleum – mosaic representing the starry night and the Christian cross on the dome vault

(Photo by the author).

"Here there is a monument which has been recognised as the ugliest monument of Italy [monument dedicated to the local hero Baracca – Fig.8.8]*, so I do not feel proud for that. However it is a great monument to me because my son can play there, he can run around and on it, and I will remember it"* [young woman, marketing officer]

Figure 8-8 Monument dedicated to local hero Francesco Baracca (Lugo).

(Photo from the web: http://www.comune.lugo.ra.it/Citta-e-territorio/Arte-e-Cultura/Monumenti/Monumento-a-Francesco-Baracca-Piazza-Baracca).

It is interesting here to note the link between heritage, lived experience and narratives associated with heritage, due to its importance in the process of identity formation. Another underlining theme is the idea that sometimes monuments are just "something" standing in the territory: it shows not a real interest may be due to people having a little knowledge of them. This lack of interest and knowledge towards local monuments confirms what the famous writer Dario Fo noticed (1999: intro): Ravenna inhabitants are the most unaware people he has never met when it comes to cultural monuments. A further interviews supports that:

"if you ask 100 people about the story of Ravenna, I am sure 99 of them do not know it! I believe I am not totally in line as I know the story of Ravenna in addition to its monuments, only here I have seen such an ignorance. Everywhere I went, everybody was proud of their city and monuments, if people in interviews say they are proud, they are lie, they are not proud at all, if they say yes, it is not true, they know monuments only because they just bypass them, and they do not know the

story of Ravenna, which is beautiful. Have a go in reading Dario Fo's book "the true story of Ravenna" [middle-age man]

"I notice that all Romagnolians, when a stranger asks for a question or asks for an indication, we are in difficult because not often we know the answer [related to our monuments]*. We see them everyday, we know general things about them, but we are not able to see them as foreigners can do, I mean foreigners usually say that we have a huge heritage here, but we are unable to evaluate it properly. […] Sometime ago, with a colleague of mine, during our lunch break, we decided to tour around some of our monuments because for residential people there is not ticket to visit them. I have to say that I missed going around inside monuments, actually, being there and seeing them every time you take them for granted […] we have them under our nose and we do not realise their value"* [middle-age woman, office worker]

In terms of sense of identity, I have gathered discordant opinions: several answers revealed a sense of belonging towards monuments only through the identification with the cities; many other interviewees have perceived monuments, mainly in Ravenna, as too old to be associated to any identity feelings, mainly to the predominant feeling of being Romagnolian. Monuments often remain something confined to the past.

"monuments may have an identity value at a high level, if we talk about mosaics and churches. They are one of the main characteristics of the city, they are related to the city because they are part of the territory, it is something to do with the story of this area and to the local culture. […]. They mark the territory and reflect the story of this city, they are a melting pot of cultural traditions, just as Ravenna was during the past due to its location and port" [young man, historian]

"I have grown up in a historical city and monuments are important to me, however I perceive them as too old although they see the history of this land" [young woman, marketing officer]

"The Byzantine monuments in Ravenna remind us of our city and its glorious past, but they do not represent our territory […] they represent the succession of different people in our land. They convey a sense of magnificence" [young man, heritage consultant]

"monuments in my city belong to the Byzantine period, the feeling of being Romagnolian has developed later. Monuments are a beautiful postcard to show my city to the world, I feel proud of it, but monuments do not make Romagna nor Romagnolians; they belong to the past, although they are important to make our city known to the world" [young man, financial advisor]

I would like to highlight two interviews that can offer some very interesting points for further discussions on both identity in Romagna, and a way forward in terms of developing new strategies for a more comprehensive approach to heritage and may be to tourism in the area. The first interview says:

"[Ravenna] *could support itself just by using and showing its monuments […] they have a fundamental role, and as citizen of this city, everyone should visit them at least once in their life and try to understand why people move from all over the world to admire them. […] However, monuments have to become something more, they have to incentivise and inspire people, not just a guided tour* [passive]*, I may think about something that does not exist yet [...], it is import to find a guiding principle from the past into the present and then, to the future"* [young man, librarian]

The interview carries on as follows:

"Surely, it is important to start from monuments to get more knowledge of the territory as well. Moreover, every monument offers some inputs to get to know something else, such as local animals, which may be represented in the famous mosaics, for instance many mosaics represent some specific birds, which are valley birds. So you start from a monument and then you may be interested in our pine forests and valleys surrounding the city […]. it is more than an artistic interest, the artistic interest is just an excuse, or a starting point, to be able to get knowledge on other themes". [young man, librarian]

I have found this interview extremely interesting because it contains a feeling of pride for the city monuments along with an exhortation to visit them, but it is also brilliant because the interviewee gives monuments a further task: they have to incentivise people, make them think about the flow of time, from the past to the present. It does not relegate monuments to the past, it brings monuments into the present, it makes them feel alive, and it requests a conscious effort from visitors, mainly local ones, to understand them into the present in a sort of hunt to find out where we come from by looking at the present.

Monuments are seen as an expression of both the territory, because they stand in the city, and of the past in virtue of their historic and aesthetic values. I have found another interview being quite illuminating on this point; it is quoted below:

"Monuments and mosaics do not represent our Romagna, they better represent the history of the Roman empire and I would not identify it as Romagna. Romagna is the inland, it is more related to the political turmoil just after the second world war, it is related to the partisan movement, it has more to do with the socio-economic

aspect of the cooperative system, which is deeply rooted here. It is not the personal culture of people, but the culture related to the territory. I agree that here there was the Roman empire, but it is not felt today, monuments talk about a passed history: Romagnolians promote them at touristic level but they even do not know them. On the contrary, Romagnolians know well the sense of traditions, their food, for instance, or even places, which Romagnolians are able to convey to tourists. […]. I agree with Dario Fo when he says that Ravenna inhabitants are the most ignorant people when it is to talk about their own history. Although our heritage is huge, Romagnolians do not know it, even people responsible for tourist strategies, or hoteliers, they do not know it deeply as this heritage is not a symbol of Romagna, it does not have an identity value related to Romagna; it represents the Roman empire, which is something different from the Romagna. I believe that the very strong Romagnolian identity comes from the post second world war; it is definitely stronger, at cultural level, than monuments. They are there, but we forget about them, we do not appreciate them. Tourists appreciate them more than what we do" [young woman, office worker]

This interview empathises the strong political nature within the debate on Romagnolian identity. It sees Romagna as something different from the land which was under the Roman Empire. The interview associates Romagna with another period of the history just after the Second World War. It has a political, socio-economic significance and meaning, and it is strictly linked to what people did in and with the territory in the first instance. Romagna is a political construct rooted into both the territory and acts of people (often political ones), while monuments talk about the Roman Empire, about another history. The Byzantine monuments talk about a past, which is felt as being old and far from local people; they are related to the territory,

are far from their daily life and are often taken for granted. On the contrary, the idea of Romagna is something more recent and related to its community. Therefore, the idea of Romagna has different origins: it was born within a political context, to respond to political events, such as the unification of Italy, and developed within a specific socio-economic climate dated just after the second world war. It is more recent than monuments, it is more actual than monuments, and it is more alive than monuments as it is cultural living practices and everyday life.

8.3.1. Heritage and identity in Romagna

The relationship between heritage and identity in Romagna is considered the core part of this research. One of the main points raised from the interviews, is the idea of a Romagnolian identity that is better represented by intangible heritage expressions rather than tangible ones: many interviewees have highlighted the link between monuments and the surrounding territory, where monuments primarily are seen as an expression of the city where they live. Monuments are beautiful and primarily related to the city or territory where they stand. From here, by transitive property, monuments are related to people living in the city: it is not a direct link. There is the mediation of the territory or city binding monuments and local people in terms of identity feelings. On the contrary, intangible heritage is directly related to people in a straight manner, where performers (local people) and performance are directly interconnected: cultural practices (food, dialect, traditions and even ways of being)live because they are in people. Romagnolian identity is better conveyed through intangible heritage expressions. Monuments have a kind of historic identity shared among Italians and carrying universal values which goes beyond the locality.

"If I think about the monuments in Ravenna, I believe they are beyond the sense of Romagna, they are universal" [young woman]

What has emerged is that monuments are far from an intimate feeling of belonging and attachment. Monuments are appreciated mainly for their historic and aesthetic values, which confer a sense of pride, but they remain distant. On the contrary, all cultural practise are intimately linked to local people in terms of expressions of local identity and sense of belonging. They are in people, who keep them alive by performing them. Some interviews' extracts quoted below confirm all these findings:

"Well, if I think about monuments in Ravenna, it is a bit difficult for me to connect them with the idea of Romagna. They are in Ravenna and are part of this land, […] but they do not represent my personal identity, they are on a different level from my Romagnolian identity. […]. When I was abroad, I use to praise our mosaics, such beautiful mosaics that are only in Ravenna, but I connected them to the city and not to the national sphere. I think about monuments as belonging to an historic level, which is higher than for instance, a popular identity which may be on a different level. […] there is an historic identity which is higher and I connect it with all artistic forms here, and there is a more popular identity, which includes many things [traditions]*"* [young woman, art sector]

This interview reveals the perception of monuments as something belonging to the city of Ravenna and not to an intimate and personal identity. It also recalls the debate on official and unofficial heritage (Harrison 2010, 2013) and its use for the creation of respectively authorised and alternative heritage discourses (Smith 2006). It consists of the idea that heritage become detached from the locality, which could find other

types of heritage, often unofficial ones, to better express local identity within an alternative heritage discourse (Smith 2006).

Only in a few cases, I have come across a few interviews saying that the most famous monuments in Ravenna, mainly the Byzantine church of San Vitale, are not related to the city of Ravenna but directly to Byzantium, so even further away from the locality.

"I feel mosaics are linked to my city but they are not strictly linked to my personal identity" [middle-age woman].

"Monuments can be a symbol of your city, they represent the place where you live. On the contrary, traditions represent better your character, the one you have shaped over the years" [young woman]

"I feel proud of our monuments, however I do not recognise myself into monuments, I feel proud and they are related to my city but they do not represent my identity" [middle-age woman, office manager]

"Monuments are part of Ravenna, they represent beauty and pride for others but not for us, locals, as you do not feel close to the monuments, but you feel close to people who share habits, the way of living with you" [middle-age man]

"Monuments are the recognisable image of the city. Identity here is given by character of people, their passions and the ability to build relations. Identity lies in history, people, passions that have been created in the courses of past centuries" [middle-age man]

From the above responses, it is clear that monuments are confined within history, even into a specific historic period, or geography since they stand in specific cities, but they have little to say in terms of identity feelings. In some cases, monuments assume an intimate identity significance because, having been experienced in the past, they may be associated to good memories, beloved people or positive periods of live, often occurred during people's childhood.

"Monuments represent my identity also because I remember that we talked a lot about them at school. They are among my best memories, including visiting them when I was at school" [young man, museum security]

"Monuments are my city, they are linked to it but I don't think they represent my identity. The Tiberius bridge is beautiful as much as the Roman Fori in Rome, maybe the Tiberius bridge is closer to me as it is in my city, however it is no more significant than other mountains in respect to my identity. I may feel the sacred precinct of the little column [it is an archaeological site where the interviewed has worked on] *closer to me as I have worked on it"* [young woman, archaeologist]

"you know what... I have to say only some monuments, for instance the mausoleum of Theodoric because it was one of the places where I used to go and play. I remember I used to run up and down, climb the stairs, you didn't need to pay any tickets at that time, only a few people visited them, that is why it was my place. I can find myself in this place or even in a few other monuments as they have a value for me because I have lived and experienced them. Another place is the Rocca Brancaleone, I have experienced that place as I used to go there and sing with my band, I have felt it more than other monuments. Other monuments just stand in the city, for instance the church of San Vitale, I have been there with my band but just a

few times, other monuments are more significant to me as I have experienced them in my childhood. [middle-age woman, office worker]

The above interviews highlights that, despite the context (city/outskirts), one of the most important things when thinking about people's own identity, are the values and practices transmitted from one generation to another one. What it has been learnt from parents and relatives, what it has been experienced and performed mainly during childhood, is what is going to shape people's intimate identity. Within this context, both practices, which are by definitions directly (either passively or actively) performed, and monuments, which someone can choose to experience through studies and visits, have a fundamental role in terms of identity formation. Nevertheless, there are a few differences: for instance, cultural practices are more likely to be directly performed in childhood as living experiences and then everyday life, while monuments can be approached and appreciated later in the life.

"Monuments and traditions are two different things in terms of identity, although they live together […]. Surely traditions reflect better my identity because they are something I have lived and experienced, monuments are part of the beauty of the territory, the territory where I have been living" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I better understand where I come from if I think about the legend of the Passatore rather than visiting the Mausoleum of Theodoricus. […] However, monuments are part of my identity, probably due to the fact that when foreign friends come here, I feel proud of them and happy to tour around. […] Traditions better represent my identity, in part monuments as well, because as I said before, I used to visit them with my grandfather, mainly the church of San Vitale, so it is a kind of

coming back and feeling home, they are then part of me" [middle-age woman, office worker]

Usually, lived experiences are related to the practice and can be transmitted as a daily habit. This could explain why people tend to identify intangible heritage expressions as more related to their identity: they have experienced and practised them in a more or less conscious way. In this case, the roles of performance and performer act in parallel. It has been noticed that in some cases tangible heritage expressions have a strong identity role. Some interviews have revealed that monuments are part of their personal identity, often in conjunction with traditions. A reasons why a bunch of interviewees have given an identity value to specific monuments it is because only these particular monuments have been associated to memories and experiences occurred in the childhood. Many interviewees have affirmed to feel particularly attached to some monuments, to the extent to say that they are part of their identity, because those specific monuments have been experienced, or I would say "used", in the past. Some people talked about monuments as places where they used to play, used to sing, used to visit with grandparents, in other words when monuments are utilised. By definition cultural practices are more likely to be experienced than tangible heritage, however, some monuments may be associated with people's pasts. When something experienced is associated with positive memories immediately it assumes an inner value and an intimate significance, often flavoured with nostalgia feelings. *Performance* (for practices) and *use* (for monuments) then become key factors in turning "things" into personal or collective heritage conveying intimate identity feelings, such as the Romagnolian one. Many responses have revealed this aspect:

"Mainly because nowadays there is this tendency to protect cultural heritage, while I believe it should be used, we should make use of heritage places rather than only conserve, then forget them". [young man, businessman]

"There is a specific tradition in Lugo […], there is a commemoration of a hero, a mess, a lunch together, all excuse to stay together. It is to commemorate what this hero did, but it is mainly a way to gather together. Here, I can see the difference between our Romagnolian identity from the other cultures, in the meaning we are able to give to every event in order to gather together, the feeling of association and cooperation. This event is a pretext to socialise, stay together and have fun" [young man, worker]

An interview claims that monuments are far from people both temporally and emotionally. However, they could be brought closer to people by using them. For instance, the Baracca monuments quoted above, although it is one of the ugliest monuments in Romagna, it has an identity value because it represents an excuse to stay together, to convey the idea of gathering together which is typical of Romagnolian people. Then, that monument assumes a further value – collective one – and represents the idea of Romagnoliness. It is also used by a mum as playground. Probably in the future, that child will recall the monument and give it a particular value because it was experienced with his mum during his childhood. Another interview highlights the feeling of associationism, which is peculiar of Romagna, in terms of social and political identity.

"Romagna has got important traditions not only related to food but also linked to the history, mainly to the politics. If you think about the second world war period and the partisans, it was very touching. The so called clubhouse, if you have not

experienced them in your youth, how can you really understand them? I believe here a very strong political identity exists, maybe now it is fading a bit but it is strongly linked to Romagna. If you think about association and cooperation, the power of the land and territory, they were the main characteristic of Romagna" [middle-age female, office worker].

This interview brings attention to politics as being part of the Romagnolian identity. It is not the only interview expressing the importance of politics.

"[Romagna] *means patriarchal family made of nucleus able to organise themselves toward the common wealth"* [young woman]

"In Romagna we have a strong political identity, if you think about our cooperatives, they come from the practice of associationism of labourers. These aspects come from the experienced history. […]. Well after the Second World War, Romagna became a wealth area, mainly through agriculture and tourism, but it had a low cultural value, that is why it was decided to decentralise some University faculties to Ravenna, Forlì, Cesena and later Rimini, to provide Romagna are with more cultural value" [middle-age woman]

Another theme on which I would like to spend a few words is represented by the concept of cultural capital. It has emerged that monuments can also be given an identity value, not only when they are linked to past memories, but also when they get known and appreciated for their their historic value first, then their identity value. Knowledge and appreciation of monuments does not happen a priori or in a "more or less conscious way", it is only in a conscious way, in other words, there is an

intellectual effort, or process to do so. It is a decision to get closer to them and a wish to know them. From here, there is a process to engage with monuments in order to get to know them and give them values, which can range from aesthetic to historical and much more, including an identity value. Who has knowledge (cultural capital), or even who does not have knowledge but has an interest in making an intellectual process to getting closer to monuments to be able appreciate them as an important aspect of our life and society, may also see an identity value. It follows that to increase the role of monuments in the identity formation process, very often they need to be experienced in childhood, or at least, people need to make an attempt to experience them with a direct approach, otherwise they may remain far from people, mainly where there is a lack of cultural capital such as in the countryside areas (need to remember that Romagna has a strong agricultural background), or a lack of interest, and they may be given only historic and aesthetic values, lacking the identity value they deserve. It recalls the dichotomy of official and unofficial heritage often reflected into tangible versus intangible heritage expressions. The following interviews highlight the role of cultural capital (knowledge):

"I would like that Ravenna inhabitants could reflect better their identity, Ravenna has much more than other Romagnolian cities and councils, however, we, as people, have got just little of it inside us. If we had the whole city inside us, we would be better. Ravenna has so many things to show, but we only see a little bit of it, the most crumbling part of it, actually no, it is the most decayed part of the city, the one neglected, the most apathetic part. […]. when I visit monuments, I feel participant to them as I have been unlucky to study […], however my roots are not from Ravenna, but I take part in these monuments as they enrich me" [young man, solicitor]

"You have asked me if monuments help understand where I come from...Well, I believe yes for those people living in consciousness, otherwise they remain thing in the middle of a city. [middle-age female]

"Monuments do not represent my identity as they are too refined, my identity is better represented by my character, simple and unsophisticated" [young man]

The first of the two interviews, in its denigration of the inhabitants of Ravenna regarding the lack of knowledge and interest towards their monuments, affirms that he feels participant to monuments because he has studied, so he gained a sort of cultural capital, which has enabled him to take part to the heritage process and recognise values in monuments. The fact that the interviewee uses the word "unlucky" when referring to his studies, means that there is a contrast in the feeling of being participant and the shame to see that monuments are not appreciated, even neglected, by inhabitants of Ravenna. Knowledge is the key element to get participation:.

"I feel Romagnolian as I feel creative, I feel I can invent the way to perform my job, which is inside a library as I think about a library which looks towards the future. I am interested in transmitting the love for all Romagna things to people, mainly the love for the places […]. I suggest people to get into the depth of this region, to experience the place by knowing the people living here. As it happens everywhere, if you do know the local people or the language, such as the dialects, then you can say to feel yourself belong to that place, otherwise you take the risk of having just a perception of a place and stop yourself on the surface" [young man, librarian]

In regard to this point, I have noticed that people from countryside often do not know or are little interested in monuments (cultural capital or little knowledge). Often there

is a lack of appreciation and identification with monuments due to a lack of knowledge. On the contrary, young men and woman, manly from the city feel themselves more participant to the heritage process. In this case below, the interviewee was a teacher and politician: she has showed that knowledge (of the territory, history and monuments) brings understanding then identity value.

"Monuments have an identity value. For instance, in Cesena, we have many buildings that have taken inspiration to the fascist period, they are unique, there are some archaeological evidences from the medieval period, there is the Malatestian library, which is a world heritage site, we have wonderful heritage assets" (Fig.8.9) [elder man, secondary teacher retired and politician]

Figure 8-9 Inside of Malatestian Library (Cesena).

(From the web: http://www.cesenatoday.it/eventi/viaggio-tra-i-tesori-della-malatestiana-per-conoscere-meglio-la-biblioteca.html)

Another interesting element is the role of performer: it is vital for the transmission of practices but also as depositary of knowledge, way of living and acting, which can be recognised as a typical expression of the Romagnolian identity.

"Traditions keep the culture of a population alive, without traditions there is no population, and the other way round" [elder woman].

"Romagnolian identity is represented by mosaics, churches and our dialect. The feeling of Romagnoliness is represented by monuments but also by good food and Romagnolian spirit inside everyone. The real Romagnolian identity is transmitted by people who you meet" [young man, solicitor]

Some interviewees have confirmed the importance of the landscape as another representative element of the local identity along with several intangible elements. The surrounding landscape has been given meanings and values turning it into a place.

"I believe that not the monuments, but the landscape is really representative of our culture, the land, not the monument itself. It is more representative the sea, our surrounding hills". [young woman, worker]

"Here, for us, the landscape is everything. Along with monuments, they are amalgamated, it is like a big house with several rooms, which are all alive. There is no part of Romagna that is considered as a storage" [middle-age man, shop manager].

"it is an identity of Romagna, to which it is important to add places, as identity is often linked to places […]. It is the identity of living and transmitting things (traditions) that you bring with you ever". [middle-age woman, self-employed]

When I asked people what represents better their own identity, without mentioning monuments nor traditions, immediate responses were mainly to intangible expressions of heritage:

"All regional identities are important, because they represent the Italian cultural and historic heritage with deep roots into people. Romagnolian identity is better represented by traditions, dialect and food and wine things, everything linked with the territoriality" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I believe Romagnolian identity is better represented by enjoying the life even if you are sit around a table or if you tell stories among friends and drink a glass of wine. Romagnolian people are able to enjoy always" [young woman]

"Romagnolian identity is conveyed by the sense of welcoming, our traditions, mainly culinary traditions, and the way of expressing ourselves" [young man]

"I believe my Romagnolian identity is well represented by the imagine of a coffee shop [a bar] located in the countryside, where you can see old chairs just outside of it, or even an old farmhouse in the countryside" [young woman]

"Identity is represented by our culture" [middle-age, man]

All these interviews show the identification of Romagnoliness mainly with intangible elements of the local culture, such as the dialect, food, landscape rather than monuments. Often traditional practices make them feel part of the community, then places and monuments are to complete this feeling, but the main body of the local identity is expressed through what we can call heritage, mainly in its intangible expressions. Another interview expresses the idea that representative of current local identity are those monuments which are still underneath. The reason behind this idea is that touristic monuments in the city of Ravenna only represent a certain period of the history of Ravenna, which is far from any current perception of identity. To find a closer link with the current life in Ravenna, in accordance with the interviewee, we

need to related to the underneath monuments of the Roman period or the ones reminding us of the ancient morphology of the old city consisting of canals and lagoons. The connection between Ravenna and other elements of the landscape, such as the canals, the port, the problem of subsidence, are still lively as they were in the ancient city, mainly at the time of Romans. Here is the link between the present and a certain past, the one more similar to the current characteristics of the city, rather than the past selected for touristic purposes.

8.4. Tourists' views on Romagnolian heritage

The third set of data regards the perception of Romagna and its heritage by tourists.. As the predominant part of this research focuses on the role of regional identity and the perception of heritage by local inhabitants, tourists' data collected at heritage sites have been utilised only to compare the imagine of Romagna and its heritage between locals and foreigners. Therefore, this data set is significantly reduced compared to the other two data sets related to locals' views.

The monuments I have considered for this dataset were located in several cities, however a special emphasis was given to the city of Ravenna hosting eight World Heritage Sites. Here, I stood mainly at the Byzantine monuments, such as Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Fig.8.10), San Vitale (Fig.8.11 and 8.12), Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (Fig.8.13), Arian Baptistery (Fig.8.14) and Neonian Baptistery (Fig.8.15), but also at Mausoleum of Theodoric (Fig.8.16), Sant'Apollinare in Classis (Fig.8.17) and Ancient port of Classis (Fig.8.18).

Figure 8-10. Galla Placidia Mausoleum. 5th century AD (Ravenna).

(Photo by the author).

Figure 8-11. San Vitale Basilica, 6th century AD (Ravenna).

(Photo from the author).

Figure 8-12 San Vitale Basilica – mosaic representing the Emperor Justinian I procession (Photo by the author).

Figure 8-13 Sant' Apollinare Nuovo (https://www.viviravenna.it/monumenti_dettaglio.php?from=monumenti_ravenna.php&id=46)

Figure 8.14 Baptistery of Arians (https://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/opencms/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Luogo/MibacUnif/Luoghi-della-Cultura/visualizza_asset.html?id=155654&pagename=157031)

Figure 8.15 Neonian Baptistery (http://www.ilritaglio.it/2012/cultura/il-battesimo-di-gesu-battistero-neoniano-ravenna/

Figure 8-16 Mausoleum of Theodoric (https://www.turismo.it/cultura/articolo/art/titolo-id-11863/)

Figure 8.17 Sant'Apollinare in Classis (https://www.ravennantica.it/basilica-sant-apollinare-in-classe/)

Figure 8.18 Ancient Port of Classis (https://www.sitiarcheologiciditalia.it/porto-di-classe-ravenna/)

I undertook 89 interviews and what it has emerged from this data, is the idea that tourists have selected Ravenna as the principal cultural city of Romagna because in Ravenna are concentrated the most important heritage sites. Some tourists decided to undertake a cultural holiday to see the Byzantine churches, others were based in one of the Romagnolian coast villages and from there they decided to have a cultural day out. The majority of interviewees admitted knowing just a little bit about the Romagnolian culture. They were slightly aware of the monuments located in the cities, may be due to their memories from high school life. Once there, then they began to discover better the whole Romagna with its traditions and culture, mainly through the contact with local people.

When I interviewed tourists, the first question I asked was about the role of cultural heritage in their life and if it had an identity value for them. The majority of answers were positive by affirming that heritage is fundamental to understand where we come from. Many responses have highlighted the idea of heritage as our history and past, something people need to look after as it is related to ancestors, origins and roots as

it is an important part of our identity. When talking about heritage sites, tourists have admitted that they choose Ravenna because it hosts famous monuments. When I asked them what these monuments represent to them in terms of identity, very often tourists showed a sense of belonging towards all monuments as they represent both a national and universal identity. Here some extracts:

"I think our cultural heritage is extremely important. It is a part of my identity, it is important for everyone's life" [middle-age man]

"Our past is very important, it is part of our identity" [elder woman]

"Heritage is our history, our past and even our present" [middle-age woman]

"Our heritage is endless, it is our national identity" [elder man]

"I believe our heritage represents everything, our history, our origins, if we do not know our past we cannot understand who we are and who we will be" [middle-age woman]

"I think cultural heritage, monuments and sites are important because they characterise the identity of both the place and people living there. They also represent what we were and what we are today" [elder man]

Once I asked tourists the role of heritage, I carried out my interviews by asking the reasons behind the choice to visit Ravenna. I understood that the majority of people were in Ravenna just for a few days. There were tourists visiting monuments as a day out far from their beach holiday. Or there were tourists heading elsewhere but they have decided to stop in Ravenna for a couple of days. In addition, many people admitted knowing Ravenna only for its monuments, mainly studied at school.

"We are just bypassing Ravenna, it I not our final destination, but I have been always keen to visit this city. Now we have just half of a day" [elder man]

"We are based in Cervia, I did not know Ravenna and Cervia were so close, so we decided to visit these monuments for a day out" [middle-age man]

"I knew Ravenna because of my studies, I wanted to bring here my children as well" [young woman]

Afterwards, I have tried to move the conversation on the idea of Romagna and its culture as it was my main interest in order to compare the perception of Romagna between locals and foreigners. To the question "What do you know about or perceive of Romagna and its culture?" I received responses showing uncertainty and a lack of knowledge. Tourists admitted having a rough idea of Romagna and its culture, but often they were pleased and surprised by this area and its inhabitants. Many people affirmed that they had come to know a bit of Romagna and its traditions through the contact with local people.

"*About Romagna, I do know the character of Romagnolian people, their kindness"* [middle-age man]

"It seems a place where traditions are kept, everyone is kind […], it seems that people here take part to things" [elder man]

"I believe that the identity of this place is understood by the style of the local people, their character, which is sunny and welcoming. I identify the place with the people" [young woman]

"We are from Milan, so not very far, but the culture is so different. Here is a

welcoming land, good food, good music, it is like a Romagna effect" [middle-age man]

"Here there is a strong bond with the land, ranging from food and wine to the pleasure to meet people telling you how the land and life was here in the past. […] For instance, you can meet the old miller, who have worked for more than 50 years, and he shows you the mill and explains why water was so important. It is like a show, he tells you about the whole system of mills, when his mill was on than the next one. Each mill had to start working at a specific time because it was a shame to waste water" [middle-age woman]

"We have been impressed by the salt pans in Cervia. It has been beautiful, you could perceive the link between people and the land, they created their job using the land. There was a link between a group of people, the land and their roots there, and their work" (Fig.8.19 and 8.20) [middle-age man]

Figure 8-19 Salt pans in Cervia and landscape
(Photo by the author).

Figure 8-20 Salt pans in Cervia

(From the web: http://www.emiliaromagnaturismo.it/it/riviera-adriatica/parchi-divertimento/il-parco-delle-saline-di-cervia).

Tourists were or became aware of the Romagnolian reality through the local people, who are the performer and the transmitter of the Romagnolian identity. Tourists have also noticed the firm bond with the landscape, whose soul, or sense of place, was conveyed through heritage and people.

8.5. Conclusions

In this chapter the role of tangible and intangible heritage in Romagna has been explored. What has emerged confirms the primarily role of intangible heritage in shaping the local identity to the expenses of tangible expressions, which are perceived as distant and far from personal identity. For instance, monuments are linked to the territory and Romagnolians rarely perceive their identity represented by them: they are just part of the territory, part of the cities hosting them. They are related to history and the land, but less to the people. There is a shared feeling that monuments are something from the past (historic value), beautiful (aesthetic value), which generate a sense of pride, however a lack of real interest and little involvement towards them has emerged, mainly in Ravenna. On the contrary, there is an intimate

participation in the expressions of intangible heritage of Romagna. People perceive cultural practices as the main representative of their own identity. In some cases, some interviewees have highlighted they feel closer to certain monuments only, for instance a specific church, because those monuments had been personally “used” in the past. Very often, when a monument is claimed to be part of someone's identity, the main reason is because this monument had been experienced in the past and had been related to memories often associated to family, beloved people or specific episodes.

Tangible heritage expressions need a more proactive approach: they need consciousness. In that case, the process that happens at heritage sites is going to produce knowledge overcoming the aesthetic, historic or religious values, to confer an intimate or collective identity (and social) value. Identity value may or may not be in line with the local identity: very often monuments, in accordance with interviewees, represent a higher identity, such as a national or universal identity, which goes in parallel with the local one to complete it. In other cases, monuments are completely detached to the intimate identity related to Romagnoliness probably due to little knowledge and involvement.

If we think about use and performance, then it is easier to comprehend why cultural practices, where the role of performance and performers are strictly linked together, are more significant than tangible heritage in the process of identity formation and enforcement. In this relation, several factors have to be taken into account, such as the discourses on authorised/alternative heritage discourse, or the concepts of habitus, cultural capital and the uses of heritage. All these themes will be addressed in the next concluding chapter.

9. HERITAGE AND IDENTITY IN ROMAGNA: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

9.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I am going to summarise and discuss all the themes raised from the fieldwork in relation to the idea of Romagna, the feeling of being Romagnolian, and the link between heritage and identity. My discussion will be contextualising these themes into the academic framework of the applied theories described in section II in order to endeavour to understand the strong attachment of Romagnolians towards their culture and mainly intangible heritage. The idea of Romagna as an imagined community supported by a strong sense of identity has already been contextualised. In this chapter, I will discuss how the sense of place and belonging are supported by heritage. Particular attention will be given to the role of politics in terms of heritage creation to build up a regional identity as well as to influence the current way of living in Romagna, where the present still hides the past within it. I will be focusing on the choices of using intangible heritage rooted into everyday life to enforce local identity, and I will be stressing the consequences of the political uses of heritage within the concepts of authorised/alternative heritage discourses in Romagna. Finally, I will suggest a more holistic approach to heritage in the area, which could be used to explore further way forwards for research on heritage and tourism.

9.2. On the fieldwork results

The aim of this research was to investigate the relationship between heritage and identity in Romagna to address three key research questions: how the Romagnolian identity is conveyed through heritage; the distinctions between tangible and intangible expressions of heritage in conveying the feeling of identity and sense of belonging to understand why and how some forms of heritage better reflect those feelings and the social value; and if the gap between tangible and intangible heritage. In order to do so, I carried out an ethnographic fieldwork to explore local people's feeling towards both local heritage and identity. The results showed an idea of Romagna experienced as an imagined community conveying a strong sense of place through intangible heritage expressions. Once confirmed that, I wanted to explore why and how intangible heritage is able to reflect the identity feeling of Romagnolian people. To this end, I applied several theories of heritage studies along with the concept of habitus to explain the reasons behind that. Finally, I have sought to shorten the gap between tangible and intangible heritage in Romagna towards a more holistic approach to heritage. Again, the use and application of heritage studies notions have found an answer to this last question.

The results of the fieldwork have confirmed the first impression raised from the pilot study: Romagnolian identity is better conveyed through intangible heritage expressions, such as traditions, dialect, food, landscape, and the way locals act and behave, which are given social and collective values. For the majority of interviewees all those elements convey a sense of identity and belonging. Although the results obtained are quite clear, they still need further interpretations: considering the total number of interviews and questionnaires, 45.30% of responses belong to people aged 18-39, while 35.90% are from middle age people, while the over 60s are less

represented (18.80%). There is a similar distribution between female (50.43%) and male (49.57%) responses, and the levels of education most represented were secondary (32.48%) and higher (39.31%), including graduate and post-graduate degrees.

The results of the fieldwork have also showed that tangible forms of heritage are mainly representative of the city where monuments stand and show little involvement, and knowledge, of the local community. They raise pride, astonishment, admiration, but fail to reflect personal or collective identity. These conclusions are quite interesting from a heritage studies perspective as always heritage, in its expressions, is well suited to convey, although at different levels and scales, feelings of identity and belonging. In order to explain this situation, which is related to the second research question, I will be referring back to the themes raised from the literature review in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Following this brief note on some results, I am going to apply the reviewed theories to the case study.

9.3. Romagna as a “place” and its sense of place

The survey highlighted that Romagna is a matter of feelings and emotions. It is within the minds of its inhabitants before being a piece of land in the North-East of Italy. Romagna is a state of mind with vague confines that are as flexible as emotions and feelings can be, as interviewees have confirmed. Romagna is made of everyday life and practices, and is strictly linked with people’s identity. The survey has confirmed that Romagna is reflected into intangible heritage, such as an actual interpretation of old traditions, which make local members feel bonded to the past but also, at the same time, recreated in the present. Romagna is a melting pot of traditions, familiar

places and landscapes where people can identify themselves; it is typical food and a specific dialect, along with a peculiar character of people, where locals can redefine themselves from the past into the present. Romagna is mainly landscape with the predominance of countryside, such as Romagnolians are mainly authentic and sociable with the predominance of their rural and, to some extent, rustic expressions. It is then clearly identifiable that Romagna is a matter of feelings and emotions: it is imagined and experienced by local members, and it conveys a strong sense of place.

The sense of place in Romagna emerges from the local perception of the surrounding environment: it is shaped by a set of values, ways of living and traditions that Romagnolians bring with themselves and merge with the local setting – and vice-versa – in a dialectic relationship. The environment suggests some inputs that are caught by local people and re-elaborated on the basis of their values and ways of living to then get back and reflect themselves into the environment. The results from the fieldwork have drawn attention to the strong bond between the local community and the territory where they live. The link between local community and its environment confirms once again that Romagna is a state of mind, a kind of imagined community not given by its material and traceable confines, but by some intangible and perceivable features, which shape the idea of Romagna itself. Romagna, as an imagined community, is no longer a region but becomes a *place*, that means a space embedded with meanings and values, and rooted into the everyday life (Tuan 1977). Local landscapes are given meanings by people and those places are variable in time through space and among local groups. As Ashworth and Graham highlight (2005), senses of place are related to the concept of time because places are in a continuous state of becoming. The link between places and time, or better between places through time, is also represented by the

conceptualisation of heritage understood as the ways in which selective materials, memories, traditions and social practices of specific places are selected from the past to become a resource for the present. Heritage, then, is a key concept into the relationship between places and time by conveying a strong sense of place, as it occurs in Romagna.

All the topics raised from the responses to the questions “what is Romagna for you?” and “What does being Romagnolian mean to you?” confirm the strong sense of place in Romagna and can be gathered into four main themes: *time*, which encompasses topics of living traditions, habits and experiences; *ancestry*, which includes notions of origins, roots, traditions and ancestors quoted in many interviews; *community* itself, which covers topics of local community character, values, practices and characteristics; and *landscapes* that have been loaded with emotional meanings and have a fundamental role for the local community in terms of familiar places, refuge and homeland. These four themes have found a validation within the travel literature and have been defined as *constructs* by Campelo *et al*. (2014:162), who pointed these constructs as the key factors in constituting a sense of place.

“The constructs of time, ancestry, landscape and community stand for a set of communal meanings that are imbued with a particular way of doing things determined by historical, physical and natural factors. The constructs interact with each other directly and indirectly, creating and re-creating meaning. The meanings reside in the way personal and social interactions are practised, reinforced, and recreated in everyday life, thus reinforcing the habitus of the community and the ethos of the place” (Campelo et al. 2014:162).

Time

Campelo argues that the construct of time is influenced by social and natural factors and that the past is perceived nowadays in how people do things, that means in the way of doing things, which has been passed from generation to generation (Campelo *et al*. 2014:159). It follows that the present can be influenced by the past and, in turn, it influences the future: the past is embodied in the present, which then informs the future. This consideration recalls Heidegger's concept of time, where the past is related to how people did things – and not what they did – and it informs the present and the future (Heidegger [1924] 1992). The construct of time is also related to other important themes: it is reflected into the concept of continuity, which is a key factor in the process of identity formation to create a sense of belonging (chapter 2). It is central to the concept of habitus understood as the past brought into the present; it is supportive to the idea of imagined community in its historical extension, and finally it is one of the three components of the relation between place and identity underlined by heritage to convey sense of place, as it will be explained in this chapter.

Having briefly summarised the implications of the construct of time, and relating it to the current case study, it can be argued that some ancient practices, which could be interpreted as responses to some historic events and land management practices, are still alive in the present in terms of how Romagnolian do things and behave today. The Romagnolian past can be perceived in the Romagnolian present in the ways some things are done and how local community approaches the life: part of how people do things today is a legacy from the past. These practices (how we do things) can also be related to local traditions in terms of old practices originated (or invented) in the past but that are still performed in the present although slightly modified. Romagnolians perceive a kind of collective time that was in the past and

tend to survive in the present. The collective understanding of time reinforces the local culture and the shared sense of place (Campelo *et al.* 2014:159). Moreover, the construct of time adds some value to the imagined community of Romagna: Romagna, as all other communities, is imagined not only in Anderson's acceptation of members not knowing each other in the present (geographical extension), but also in terms of members not knowing their past members (historical extension), which are considered of high importance for the community in order to determinate the sense of self and family's identity.

Ancestry

The last statement is directly related to the second construct identified by Campelo: ancestry. The importance given to some themes – origins, roots and family – has strongly emerged during the fieldwork and it denotes a deep attachment of the local community to their past and ancestry. Campelo highlights the significance of ancestry by arguing that ancestry informs "people's behaviour in the reproduction of social relations, in political and organisational affairs" (Campelo *et al*. 2014:160). This statement is confirmed by the case study. In fact, the constructs of time and ancestry in Romagna overlap: often specific political and organisational models are reproduced from the past into the present, as well as patterns of social relations.

The significance of the political component in the Romagnolian life and the organisation of affairs in terms of the widespread cooperatives (LEGACOOP 1996), have been identified as one of the central characteristics of being Romagnolian. Political choices and the cooperative forms of aggregation have their origins in the history of the region and in the past organisation of the land and work. After the Second World War, the inhabitants of Romagna were mainly day labourers that used

to gather together for working, living and having their interests protected from the richest class. This aggregation structure has worked as a model for other types of aggregation, such as political one. Nowadays, in Romagna the aggregation form of cooperatives, which derive from day labourers' cooperation, is well spread as long as the political nature of, and attachment to, this territory (Ridolfi 1997). The character of aggregation represents an example of how the past, in this case the last century economic and political pasts related to the land, have influenced the present. Today the concept of aggregation can show other than its political acceptance to embrace a broader contextualisation: many interviewees have outlined the value of staying together, among friends, among people, and the practices of gathering and sharing.

Community

The construct of community is slightly more complicated than the previous ones. Community is both a construct and a reflection of the constructs of time, ancestry and landscape, which together create a set of meanings held by each community. Community encapsulates within itself the concepts of origins and roots (ancestry), experienced within a landscape (to which people give meanings) and through time.

Landscape

In many occasions, the survey has highlighted the strong attachment of Romagnolians towards their land. Campelo (2014:160) affirms that "the attachment to the land reinforces the links with their ancestors, and provides the land and the landscape with cultural significance". The landscape can be linked with ancestors and it is often imbued with cultural significance. In fact, it has been recognised that the physical environment is a key element of the whole Romagnolian life: interviewees have affirmed to see the real Romagna in their landscape, and to find a

refuge in it (Fig.9.1 a,b,c,d). The landscape then assumes cultural importance as it "includes natural, familiar and social history transforming the landscape into a repository that bonds the past to the present, personal history to ancestral, and place to history" (Campelo *et al*. 2014:160). Once again, the past is carried in the landscape and in its modifications.

a) Countryside
(From:
https://mapio.net/geo/44.00380478813683/12.525651454052422/en/)

b) San Leo
(From:
https://www.hotelgardenigeamarina.com/entroterra_it.php)

c) Pine forest in Classe
(From:
http://www.italiainfoto.com/gallery/emilia-romagna/p4276-strada-per-la-bassonapineta-di-classe.html)

d) Cervia
(by the author)

Figure 9-1 a), b), c) and d). Examples of various Romagnolian landscapes. Various sources.

An example of that is represented by the valley areas where typical structures called capanni stand (Fig.9.2 and 9.3).

Figure 9-2 Capanno on a river (Ravenna).

(From the web: http://www.ravennatoday.it/cronaca/proroga-per-la-riqualificazione-dei-capanni-bene-ma-senza-il-rilascio-delle-concessioni-e-inutile.html).

Figure 9-3 Capanno on the sea (Cesenatico).

(Photo by the author).

Capanni are privately owned structures (single or shared ownership), which used to have a utilitarian end – fishing for provision – but nowadays they have mainly a

recreational value. Raising from the mirror of water in the damp areas, they delineate the skyline of Romagnolian rivers and valleys, and have become one of the cultural landmarks of Romagna and a cultural heritage milestones of Romagna identity. “[Capanni] have nowadays become a fully-fledged part of our regional cultural heritage and they have marked our landscape over the past centuries” (Regione Emilia-Romagna 2006). Capanni are just an example of how the landscape has been modified through time by people, who have turned a practical resource for sustenance into an element of a characteristic cultural landscape. Within the broad Romagnolian landscape, the countryside occupies a special space: many interviewees have affirmed that the countryside is the best place where one can experience the real sense of Romagna as it is where some old traditions are still performed and experienced as daily. Here it is possible to find some *bars,* where the aggregation has social and recreational ends (a kind of *third place in* Oldenburg’s definition to indicate places where people go often to run errands and also congregate with others, who are not necessarily friends but become something more than strangers to whom it is possible to exchange news (Kaufman 2013)), or clubhouses (Baravelli 1999), whose the political roots were emphasised until a few years ago. Although these *places* are less and less spread in the territory, they still convey the essence of Romagnoliness, in accordance with many interviews.

The landscape in Romagna has also been interpreted as a place for recovery: it is embedded with nostalgic feelings, such as a return to the origins and the nature. It is also a place where local people may seek refuge and escape from modernity. The Romagnolian landscape is then shaped and experienced by locals; it is multi-valuable: agricultural works and products often used to produce typical food, but also culturally significant.

To come back to Campelo's view, time, ancestry, landscape and community are key factors in constituting a sense of place model (Campelo *et al.* 2014:158-159), where the four constructs interact with each other within a physical environment (geographic location and type of landscape) and social environment (people and history) in order to create the habitus of the place, to recall Bourdieu's thought (Bourdieu 1986). It is important to note that the four constructs do not only shape the sense of place, but it is the significance and meanings of each construct that determinates the sense of place (Campelo *et al.* 2014:161). In the next paragraphs, I am going to explore the last two themes from the applied theories referring to Romagna: the concepts of habitus, already introduced by Campelo's model, and heritage as a key factor to convey the sense of Romagna as a place, and as an element underlying the concept of habitus itself through cultural practices.

9.4. Romagnolian habitus: the past into the present

As stated above, the constructs of time – in Heidegger's acceptance of how people do things – and ancestry – the tendency to reproduce people's behaviour in social relations – are merged into the concept of habitus: there is continuity from the past into the present. This continuity from the past into the present occurs in Romagna as the fieldwork results can demonstrate. From the interviews carried out it has emerged that Romagna is still a land of ancestors where people are still attached to their origins. This suggests there is continuity from the past until the present: people do not perceive a clear break with their past, which is not something far away, but it is just around the corner, or even in the everyday life. The sense of continuity that is showed in two ways: a more articulated one, such as performing some cultural practices consciously perceived as old and coming from previous generations, where

people are aware of the time passed and are able to recall places and memories of experienced events, often associated to some narratives making these memories still close to interviewees. And there is an unconscious ways of continuity with the past, which is given by performing practices and habits in the everyday life that are perceived as routine and regardless of the time passed. Both approaches are present in Romagna, which has gone through some changes and adjustments in the practices, mainly in the cities, and that makes the region no longer the rural area it was before. Continuity with the Romagnolian past is then given by awareness of old traditions and wish to perform them, as it happens in the major cities; and it is given by performing them as routine, mainly in the countryside. This is the reason why many people in the interviewees have said that a more realistic feeling of Romagna can be found in the countryside, where rural traditions have survived better than in the cities.

Continuity is a key element of the Bourdieu's concept of habitus as previously stated. Noteworthy is the fact that many people have identified that being Romagnolian is "something" that emerges suddenly as the way of living. Many interviewees have pointed out some characteristics of being Romagnolian: the importance given to any aggregation moments, such as having dinner with friends or being hospitable; the way of speaking, mainly the use or understanding of the dialect; the way of eating, or the character of people, such as being very passionate and sociable, hard-working but sometimes rough and non-acculturated along with the importance given to some meaningful places, landscape and traditions. Where do these elements come from? How can Romagnolian people show similar feelings and point out analogous characteristic of the feeling of being Romagnolian? Those elements have, in the majority of cases, an historical explanation: very often they are related to the rural

past that was used to create the regional identity, and they have been brought into the present. Which mechanism has been implemented to create such a situation? The concept of habitus is the answer, where the constructs of time and ancestry, providing continuity over time, can be merged together. From what has been understood from the fieldwork, current cultural elements conveying the feeling of being Romagnolian, come from the past not just as a copy or wish to perform old traditions, but they are often within people at an unconscious level. The Bourdieuian concept of habitus can explain why Romagnolian people tend to behave in certain ways, which have been identified as characteristic of being Romagnolian, and interpret the social reality in similar manner. The fieldwork has confirmed that the Romagnolian past has been brought into the present in terms of dispositions acquired and then performed, but it also combines the subjective world of individuals with the cultural world they experience. The concept of habitus explains how the culture of a social group is internalised in the individual. If applied to the case of Romagna, it is possible to note that when interviewees affirm that being Romagnolian is a way of acting and behaving, mainly unconsciously, they mean exactly that the social culture has been embodied into them through the concept of habitus. Not only the way people act in Romagna, but also their preferences, their tastes oriented towards typical food, or even some political choices, are often the result of the work habitus does within the constructs of time and ancestry. Habitus works among individuals in the society, but it also operates at familiar level. In fact, many interviewees have revealed the role of families, mainly during childhood, in transmitting traditions, habits and values unconsciously. During childhood people come in contact with a set of dispositions, which can be cultural practices, attitudes, ways of behaving, dialect, specific foods, which belong to the everyday life without any claim of being part of an old tradition. The family then is the first environment

transmitting and shaping one's habitus, then socialisation and education processes. In fact, during the processes of socialisation within the society, people encounter other individuals showing similar ways of interpreting the social world around them. These contacts shape the cultural world of individuals, which could be also modified by the encounter with other individuals, but would never be extremely divergent from the others if they have grown up in the same cultural context. Interviewees have confirmed this statement: words like "Romagnolians behave" and "we are" show a collective dimension where a shared culture has been embodied. Habitus evolves as well as dispositions and culture: they are not fixed, nor do they follow a set of rules, they evolve and change, for instance, in line with social changes, but they very often suggest similarities in behaviours and tastes among individuals in the same community, exactly as it happens in Romagna.

In this process, cultural practices and elements, the same elements used by intellectuals to create the Romagnolian identity between the 19th and 20th centuries, have become part of habitus as well. They have been captured first to create the regional identity. then to carry history (although created artificially, it is still part of the history of Romagna), because they have been experienced and transmitted as habitus and dispositions from one generation to another one, until today. Those elements have brought the past into the present: they came from the everyday life and became those symbols used to provide Romagna with territorial and symbolic shaping to make it a cultural region. They were those elements picked from social and cultural practices, or from the landscape, which were turned into heritage through narratives, stories and repetition to create collective memories among locals and to anchor a sense of belonging and identity. Therefore, habitus has acted in Romagna as a reproducer of culture: it carries history and generates practices

(Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1998), which can be still considered as heritage in virtue of the contemporary values people give to them.

Although the concept of habitus fits with the reproduction of practices in Romagna, there is still need to make some clarifications: it has been noticed that a feeling of nostalgia, mainly towards some cultural practices and the local dialect, underlined many responses of younger generations as they perceive those elements as threaten by globalisation or cultural changes. Although they are still alive and performed even by younger people, the fear of loosing them was perceptible. They expressed more awareness of the fragile aspects of certain traditions, or even of the local dialect. The same consideration can be drawn for people living in the urban contexts, who have often admitted that traditional cultural practices were experienced with nostalgia and threaten by changes. On the contrary, when interviewing elder people or people living in the countryside, they admitted performing some cultural practices the local dialect more frequently, and they did not perceive any risk in loosing them. From here, it has emerged that the context (urban or rural) can influence both the reduction and transmission of practices, and the perception of intangible heritage (in danger or not, experienced more or less intensively and with feeling of nostalgia or as routine). From here, it can said that age of interviewees and the spatial dimension can influence the reproduction of practices and are linked to the concept of habitus. In this view, the power of younger generations in changing the structure of habitus cannot be neglected: younger generations, mainly living in the urban context, have absorbed changes in the social life, which have make them gradually far away from the pre-established structure that habitus was being transmitted. From here the feeling of loosing cultural traditions, local dialects, old landscapes, and the sense of

nostalgia, which are still strong in the countryside and among elderly people, where the wind of change blows more slowly.

Another interesting aspect emerged from young generation's responses and still associated the notion of habitus is that the amount of capital (mainly cultural capital) seems to be higher when compared to the capital earned by elder generations, which have showed a more awareness of social capital rooted in the practice of aggregation. To generate practices that are coherent with one's habitus, the habitus interacts with capital (power) within a field (field of forces) (Chapter 6). The role of capital in generating practices is extremely important in Romagna as revealed by the analysis of many interviews. For the purpose of this study, attention is given to cultural capital, mainly in the form of embodied state as it refers to knowledge people acquire during childhood, socialisation and education: when referring to the way of acting, sometimes re-acting, the way of speaking not only through the language but also the passionate use of some words, the emphasis of the language when talking about specific arguments, such as politics, Romagnolian people have shown their attitude to unconsciously display a good amount of embodied cultural capital. As it will be clear in the next paragraphs, their knowledge (cultural capital), mainly acquired during childhood, have informed their understanding and perception of heritage as well. Cultural capital has been passed from previous generations through the notion of habitus, whose primary context was the family gravitating towards the agricultural and rural world. This passage is crucial in understating the current Romagnolian situation: the surveys have demonstrated that older generations show different components of cultural capital, and their perceptions and identification of heritage is different from the ones of younger generations, who have had a broader access to a varied cultural capital including knowledge related to different forms of

heritage. What I would like to remark here is that Romagnolian present is rooted in rural past and land, and this circumstance has shaped the habitūs of previous generations by passing down some forms (or amount) of cultural capital, which is showed differently either between old and new generations within the local community, and between locals and tourists. To reinforce this discrepancy is the fact that cultural capital is linked with social capital as the former is circulated and reproduced through the latter one (Beel and Wallace 2018). This has resulted in privileging some expressions of heritage at the expenses of others: expressions representing the rural life and daily experiences, often intangible, are perceived as closer to people, while some other heritage expressions, mainly tangible ones, which hardly were experienced in the everyday life, are perceived as far from any daily routine and habits. This point applied to the case of Romagna can confirm Bourdieu's theory on groups and classes formation as well: the position of some people and the types of capital they possess suggest that those people can form groups or classes (Bourdieu 1985).

Other interesting aspects arising from the interviewees, which can also be linked to the notion of habitus and the constructs of time and ancestry, are represented by the topics of politics and eating. Reconnected to the construct of ancestry is the theme of politics: politics is a particularly touching subject in the region, as several interviewees have highlighted, and can sometimes become a reason for disputes. The attachment to politics has ancient roots: it can be related to the period when Romagna was considered a violent and dangerous area (Balzani 1995; Gambi 1969), or the following moment when politics was used to create the myth of a peaceful land; however it has always been a vital element of the Romagnolian identity (Balzani 1995). One of the characteristics of Romagnolian life and its

inhabitants that can be traced back to politics as previously stated, is represented by the practice of aggregation: examples of social, professional, generational or recreational aggregation are widespread in the region. Many people have outlined the value of staying together, among friends, among people, the practices of gathering and sharing. This practice, although it seems part of the natural Romagnolian life, can be rooted into the political context: moments of aggregation were typical during social conflicts and had their origins in the group practices of rural societies (Fig.9.4 and 9.5), which tended to reorganise the world of work through cooperatives and other associations in Romagna (Ridolfi 1997).

Figure 9-4 Farmhouse in the countryside.
(Photo by the author taken from Bagnoli 2010:7).

Figure 9-5 Farmers and their families used to live together in the farmhouses: they used to work the land together without owing it.

(Photo by the author taken from Bagnoli 2010:cover).

The role of politics in the region is not just related to the birth of aggregation practice, but it underlines most of the Romagnolian history: in fact, a current interpretation of some parts of the Romagnolian life can be rooted into its political past. Often past political choices or territorial identity (which can be sometimes politically led) shape people's identity. It is the case of Ravenna and its inhabitants:many interviewees have talked about the reserved character of its inhabitants compared to people living in other Romagnolian cities. I argue that the geography of the territory where Ravenna stands, along with the way the area was politically and administratively managed in the past, have influenced its inhabitants' character. The city has always been kept aside from the major commercial affairs developed around the Via Emilia,

therefore people living in Ravenna have always been slightly isolated. Moreover, in the past the city was a marshy land crossed by canals making life conditions quite hostile. I affirm that these negative conditions shaping the past landscapes have influenced in the current character of Ravenna inhabitants making them sometimes detached and hostile, as many interviews have highlighted.

Some political choices made in past can shape the current management of the land. For instance, when we think about the differences between Emilia and Romagna, it has been highlighted that the different past dominations of these “sub-regions” have resulted in their different actual character: Emilia was a land of dukedoms, where the land was managed through policies oriented towards new developments and more open businesses. On the contrary, in Romagna, the Papal State domain was quite retrograde and oppressive preventing the region from taking part to many businesses and trading, and leaving the area underdeveloped for many decades. The Papal domain then reinforced the rural vocation of Romagna and provided a breeding ground for the formation of the Romagnolian identity based on agricultural elements. This reading of the past can explain the remarked rural character of Romagna: it was within this context that the Romagnolian identity was created, based on social and cultural practices coming from the rural world. The bond between land and politics has always been strong and has been shaping the Romagnolian identity until these days. In this respect, Balzani argues that after the Unification and Risorgimento, Romagna was the area with the higher number of Monarchy’s enemies: the area was called “Red Vendee” for the practice of extreme politics sometimes deviating into violence. This situation generated the myth of Romagnolians as violent people, which lasted for many years, then it vanished as demonstrated by a royal visit to Romagna in 1888, when Romagnolians were described as peaceful and quiet people (Balzani

and Mazzuca 2016). This period was understood as the cradle of mass politics, mainly between 1868 and 1872 (Balzani and Mazzuca 2016:168). Mass politics and associationism have been always interlinked and found a space even in the everyday life. The practice of aggregation, typical of the Romagnolian agricultural world where colonial families used to stay and gather together, was also used by labourers after the Second World War to meet together and buy agricultural machineries. That generated cooperatives, which guaranteed assistance and support to their members. The step from the cooperatives to the formation of political fractions and unions was short. The feelings raised from the practice of aggregation inherent into the cooperatives, being them of social or political character, generated sense of community and feelings of solidarity, which are still perceptible and powerful in the current Romagna, as emerged from some interviews. Current Romagnolian identity is therefore rooted into past politics and it still has a very strong political identity component, which has generated an equally strong social capital in terms of solidarity (Ridolfi 1990, 1995). It is from this context that the Romagnolian collectivity has emerged. Collectivity is then the key term to express this still contemporary feeling of Romagnolians towards the social and political life. The political and social history of Romagna is deeply linked to the model of “associated life” (Ridolfi 1997), where politics has always had a deep influence on people to the extent that it can be considered a real identity trait, capable of competing, especially starting from the second half of the twentieth century, with the more traditional and consolidated signs of belonging within the same community, such as cooking and the dialectal language (Baravelli 1999).

The other theme related to habitus is the practice of eating in terms of preferences and testes. In this view, Romagnolians, as it happens for other communities, have

grown up surrounded by a selection of foods and dishes, which have contributed to the formation of their habitus; this means certain food, considered typical of this area, were included in the everyday (or at least common) practices, and have assumed a daily trait. In other words, those foods and dishes have become common practices and, coming from the past, they bring it with them into the present. In addition to this meaning of the practice of eating as a context for the habitus to be showed, there is another aspect: a reading of the past through typical dishes, where the link with the past can be explained through the mediation of the territory. Typical dishes are made with ingredients from the surroundings and easily reachable: the background of a dish talks about the history of the territory it comes from. In fact, Romagna was a poor land, a rural land, and typical dishes come from this tradition. A few interviews have pointed out a political reading of some typical dishes in Romagna: as stated in chapter 8, haute-patisserie was completely absent in the poor Romagna in the 19th century; on the contrary, lands governed by royal families, such as the South of Italy or Piedmont, offer fine examples of cuisine and patisserie. Again the habitus of Romagna, where forms of strong power were absent in the 19th century, and being an agricultural land, has influenced current taste and preferences of locals, which can be reflected in the production of a simple and humble cuisine. It could be affirmed that dishes reflect their origins often shaped by politics: in fact, a political interpretation of eating could be undertaken in the reading of haute-patisserie versus humble cuisine as result of political domination.

Coming back to the fieldwork's results, I argue that the concept of habitus provides the academic framework to explain the reasons why many Romagnolians have said that the feeling of being Romagnolian is something inside people, a way of living and behaving, which comes up suddenly. It is through habitus that the Romagnolian

culture is embodied into individuals, and it is through its dispositions that it develops. Habitus shows the history in the everyday life, and it will be informing the future, although their outcomes are unpredictable. The concept of habitus gives a continuity between the past and the present, where the past is not clearly cut out from the present or passively experienced, it is actively lived, although at an unconscious level, and susceptible to changes: through the concept of habitus, it is possible then to read the past into the present.

Within this context, however, it is important to remark the role of agency in addressing and modifying the reproduction of practices when in contact with changes. The rate and speed of changes impacting the habitus structure, and the way of reproduce practices, are different between younger and older generations, as well as between physical spaces, such as urban and rural context. Older generations and the countryside absorb change more slowly then younger generations and urban contexts. Also the amount and type of capital possessed can address agency's actions within fields: for instance, more cultural capital of younger generations, could push towards embracing other forms of heritage, such as tangible expressions, as reflecting social and community values. Results have showed that younger generations are more open to changes: nostalgia towards traditions or dialect means a feeling of detachment, which is absent in the older generations and countryside. The outcomes of this process are hard to predict; however, considering the power of agency in shaping the structure of habitus, it is possible to hypothesise that future generations will have more power to deviate from the pre-determined habitus in absorbing changes, which are more frequent and rapid nowadays and in the urban context, then in the past and countryside.

What has emerged is that social and cultural practices, and elements from the landscape, have been used to artificially create the Romagnolian identity: those elements are still present in Romagna as they have been passed on through the notion of habitus. In the process of identity creation, those elements were turned into culture as well as landscapes were turned into places with the planned scope to anchor feelings of identity and sense of belonging: a bond between place and identity was then established. This bond is still present and it is underpinned by heritage to convey the contemporary sense of place. From here it emerges the undeniable role of culture in the process of identity formation, as well as the role of heritage in both the enforcement of feeling of identity and the support to convey the Romagnolian sense of place.

9.5. Heritage in Romagna: identity and sense of place

The main outcome of the survey is that Romagnolians perceive intangible heritage expressions as a reflection of their identity, while they show little involvement in their monuments and other tangible heritage expressions. It is now essential to explore the role of heritage in Romagna to understand the reasons underlining this situation. It has been argued that heritage underpins the concepts of habitus, the sense of place, and the relations between place and identity. As stated, heritage is created by people in the present, when they select objects, practices or places and give them values in accordance with their socio-cultural and personal circumstances to respond to specific needs. Therefore heritage has always a specific scope. The fieldwork has revealed interesting data regarding the heritage process in Romagna: some places, such as the ones providing recovery and peace, or those chosen for gathering together, some objects and sites, or specific monuments, and some practices coming

from the Romagnolian traditions set, along with the Romagnolian dialect, are still given values and meanings by local people today. The selection of some of those "items" happened in the past with the scope to create the Romagnolian identity: those cultural elements were turned into heritage because they were codified and became part of collective memories. They are still "items" with values and meanings today as they still convey the Romagnolian identity. Some of those "items" coincide with the ones selected in the last century to create the Romagnolian identity, some others are more personal and related to lived experiences of inhabitants, others are newer: in any case, all of them contribute to the contemporary sense of belonging and identity in Romagna.

As extensively affirmed above, the scope for the creation of heritage varies from political to economic and touristic or social ends, although the political aspects have often been dominant. In the previous paragraphs, it has been discussed that intellectuals in Romagna took some social and cultural practices and turned them into what we call today traditions by giving them a social value to create a sense of identity to demonstrate that there was a Romagna with their traditions,culture, and dialect which could be opposed to the attempt of ongoing nationalism occurring in Italy soon after its Unification. The end of this operation was political, therefore, the identity creation process was a political play based on cultural and social practices: what Romagnolians today call *traditional food, traditional dialect, traditional landscapes or traditional cultural practices* in reality they were a political manoeuvre to "make" Romagnolians and Romagnolian culture through the institution of the cultural region and the creation of collective memories. This mechanism has also provided a sense of belonging and identity, which is still strongly perceived by local inhabitants through these intangible heritage expressions. Here is where heritage lies

today: Romagnolian traditional cultural practices, food, landscapes and dialect are considered as Romagnolian heritage because they convey feelings of local identity, to which Romagnolians are extremely attached. The survey has revealed that the social value of intangible heritage in Romagna, as it is still reflecting people's Romagnolian identity nowadays; probably it is not the same feeling as it was 150 years ago due to physiological and socio-cultural changes occurred, however it is still a strong and meaningful sentiment today.

The above conclusion is important in light of any legitimation claim towards any epithet of "old" or "superseded" of Romagnolian intangible heritage expressions. The heritage process is working in Romagna now by giving social values to the whole apparatus of old traditions, food, dialect and character of people, supporting feelings of belonging and identity. In this respect, Balzani (2001) argues that Romagnolians should be aware of the artificial character of their traditional practices and move forward in order to be open minded towards the progress. I support Balzani's statement in terms of need for awareness of the artificial character of the Romagnolian cultural traditions (like many others), and the need to be more welcoming to some aspects of the progress. However, I would like to put the question in heritage terms rather than in historical or political ones. So, I wonder to what extent we can reject or dismiss some ancient cultural practices or local dialect and food, although sometimes based on artificial elements, if they are still an expressions of the Romagnolian identity and are still meaningful in individual and collective terms for people sharing them. The survey, which is a snapshot of the current situation in Romagna, has demonstrated that intangible heritage expressions, mainly traditional cultural practices although artificially created, have contemporary value and meaning, which make them reflect Romagnolian identity feelings. This is a matter of

legitimation: Romagnolian traditions are legitimised nowadays as they are still meaningful for people sharing and practising them: they are heritage. I support Balzani's exhortation to move on and not be stuck into the past, but I do it in heritage terms: the survey has showed that intangible heritage expressions are still meaningful to locals, and I suggest leaving them as they are. They will change or disappear by following the natural flow of the events. It is essential to recognise primarily the value of those intangible heritage expressions for people, and then recognise their fluid and dynamic nature, as any cultures, and the flow they are intended to follow: changing over time. What we call "Romagnolian traditions" have ancient roots: they are the product of a certain time and the result of specific interactions among people, and between people and their territory, and they have been created with particular ends. This manipulated past has shaped the Romagnolian identity and enforced it over time by adapting and re-adapting itself to changes. From a heritage studies perspectives, intangible heritage expressions, such as any cultures, cannot be frozen (Alivizatou 2007), they need to change in accordance with both internal changes and the encounter with other cultures. Each generation will add to them changes of their owns, and those expressions will be considered as something that needs to be renewed to embrace new meanings and values in order to tell new narratives reflecting new identity feelings to mirror new socio-cultural contexts in Romagna. I believe this is a process which is going to happen naturally over time. I would like to encourage Romagnolians to be aware of that, of the origins of the artificial nature of what they call traditional practices, and to understand that they are the product of a specific period of the Romagna's history, and they will change over time. In the meantime, they should be performed until they mean something to people sharing them, until they have been given values, until they are considered as heritage.

Identity is a complex and evolving process, so heritage as a projection of values and identity, will change over time. So far, these rural traditions are still part of the Romagnolian collective memories and are still performed, although less intensively compared to the past. Romagnolians have performed those traditions over time, and they have not done so passively: traditions have been passed on through the notions of habitus not as a pre-established set to perform, but they have been re-elaborated by performing them over time. By performing them, people embrace them and make them part of their life. Traditions and intangible heritage still provide a sense of cohesion among Romagnolians and they still reflect the Romagnolian identity feeling, therefore they are heritage today.

The survey has showed that, contrary to what has been found in relation to Romagnolian traditions, monuments, which could provide a tangible form to convey identity feelings, are perceived far from Romagnolians' identity: they hardly convey a sense of belonging. It has emerged that they belong to the city where they stand representing an image of the city, and Romagnolians do not feel personally involved with them. Those monuments are considered as heritage mainly for their historic and aesthetic values, which are attributed by some inhabitants, but they often fail to convey a sense of belonging. Often monuments in Romagna, according to interviewees, talk about a past that is far and gone. They have little to do with the feeling of Romagnoliness but also with the everyday life of inhabitants. There is little or lack involvement with them in terms of both experiencing them (sometimes they were visited in childhood, or with beloved people, or family members), and providing sentiments towards them, apart from pride based on the fact that they are in the city where people live in. Nowadays, those monuments, mainly the ones standing in

Ravenna, are mainly tourist attractions. Monuments often represent the image of the city, and not of Romagna as a place.

If we come back to the Conceptual Model of Place Image elaborated by Clouse and Dixit (2017, here fig.4.1), it is possible to notice the role of attraction and retention focuses in making the place image. In the conceptualisation of Romagna as a place, from the local community point of view, all focuses converge: the sense of place and identity aspects supported by intangible forms of heritage are quite strong. Intangible heritage forms then underpin both the “more experimental” focuses (sense of place and identity), and, although more weakly, the “less experimental” focuses. This discourse works for the local community, but it is less true for tourists as they associate primarily built heritage to brand and visual image. In fact, the visual image, that means what people see when they think of a place (Clouse and Dixit 2017) is different from locals and tourists, as the third data set has demonstrated: locals’ picture is represented by traditions, character of people, their dialect and their culinary traditions; on the other hand, tourists visualise partial aspects of locals’ character and often some monuments. Tangible heritage forms support the “less experimental” focuses, however, they have little power in conveying both a sense of place and identity (“more experimental” focuses) for locals. The result is the creation of Romagna as a *place* in Tuan’s acceptation (1975, 1977), whose image is primarily based on intangible heritage expressions meaningful for locals, while an image of Romagna as place based on tangible heritage expressions fails among both local community and tourists as some focuses are missing.

The fieldwork has also showed that people in Ravenna perceive the World Heritage Sites as distant: monuments have little relevance in the daily life in terms of meanings and values (Harrington 2004), and fail to convey both a sense of

Romagna as a place and identity feelings in general. This outcome is supported by Breakwell's theory on place-identity where heritage conveys a sense of place (Hawke 2010): in Romagna, intangible forms of heritage embrace all three factors of self-esteem, distinctiveness and continuity to convey a sense of place. Interviewees have showed their pride in performing or having performed Romagnolian traditions, knowing the dialect, and possessing typical characteristics (self-esteem). Romagnolians have confirmed their feelings of distinctiveness based on their culture; and finally, they have highlighted the continuity over time of their cultural traits based on the everyday life and to which it has been given a historical context through the notions of habitus, ancestry and time (Bourdieu 1977; Campelo *et al.* 2014). Different is the discourse on tangible heritage expressions: monuments are source of pride for local people because they stand in the city, so a self-esteem factor is fulfilled although associated to a city-context. However, monuments produce a sense of distinctiveness not in terms of people's identity, but as different landmarks belonging to the city. Finally, as emerged, monuments are confined into the past and do not provide continuity over time: this perception also implies that they often fail to provide identity feelings, as demonstrated. Tangible forms of heritage in Romagna then do not convey a sense of place, but they often represent an image of the city where they stand, in accordance with interviewees' opinions. Nevertheless, not all people fell within this generalisation: many interviewees, who have shown more knowledge of tangible heritage in Romagna, have confirmed the value of those monuments in conveying a sense of place and identity by fulfilling all three factors of Breakwell's theory: small percentage of interviewees has affirmed how "living consciously" [quoted in questionnaire 017], make them aware of the identity value of tangible heritage expressions in Romagna. Awareness and knowledge are then the key notions to live consciously and attribute tangible heritage expressions an identity

value in Romagna. This outcome recall Rudolff's circular model of heritage (2010), where knowledge, by identifying a sub-process of heritage construction, contributes to the values' definition. Knowledge implies the assignment of values. Values are given to objects, sites and places to turn them into heritage that becomes a projection of both values and identity (Rudolff 2010). The cyclical process based on knowledge in Romagna seems to be fulfilled again in terms of intangible heritage expressions only, where knowledge and awareness are consistent. On the contrary, tangible heritage expressions show some gaps mainly in relation to knowledge and awareness, as the survey has highlighted.

Further considerations can be deduced in relation to the heritage debate in Romagna. Tangible heritage expressions in Romagna fall within the Authorised Heritage Discourse as defined by Smith (Smith 2006): old, grand and hegemonic heritage expressions to be protected and conserved for future generations and dealt with by experts. Intangible heritage expressions, on the contrary, could offer an inspiration to anchor alternative heritage discourses, often in opposition to the authorised ones. There have been several authorised heritage discourses in the Italian and Romagnolian pasts: the process of nationalism raised after the Unification led to an authorised heritage discourse, where localisms try to fight against by promulgating (sub)alternative heritage discourses based on social and cultural practices and intangible heritage expressions, like the process of identity formation in Romagna. Another AHD is the Western authorised heritage discourses in Romagna linked to the listing process of some monuments in Ravenna, which projected those monuments into the sphere of official heritage and took them even further from the locality. As a result, those monuments are nowadays perceived as something dead, no longer alive and finished (Harrison 2010), and they barely represent a sense of

identity, as captured in many interviews. On the other side, the alternative heritage discourse undertaken by intellectuals at the end of the 19th century to support the political process of localism in opposition to that of nationalism, was supported by intangible and unofficial forms of heritage used to create a sense of identity based on new narratives and collective memories grounded into the everyday life of Romagnolian people. This process built up some relationships among Romagnolians and the world they were living in, and made people feel to be bounded into a unique and imagined community. This has led to the production of the Romagnolian locality based on both intangible heritage expressions, such as cultural and social practices, where heritage has fulfilled it social role (Harrison 2010; Byrne 2008), and collective embodied memories (Benton 2010), based on new narratives (Rudolff 2010). It was within the alternative heritage discourse that new narratives of social and cultural practices of everyday life created collective memories to which a sense of belonging and identity was anchored at the end of the 19th century. The creation of this heritage had political ends and was rooted into the everyday life to produce a "subaltern culture" in opposition to the "hegemonic culture", to use Gramsci's words (1948-1951). This is how heritage discourses have worked in Romagna in the past to create its identity.

What are the implications of these discourses today? Being a selection of the past for current needs, heritage meanings, values and ends change over time. Nowadays there is no longer need to create the Romagnolian identity, there is no longer need to create an opposition to the nation formation process. However, the survey has demonstrated that the heritage process is still working today, mainly in its intangible forms: heritage nowadays in Romagna still serves to convey and anchor a sense of identity, and it is extremely important to locals. Heritage is able, nowadays, to recall

memories by sight, through the association of places and things with some past events meaningful to individuals or collectivity. This is possible because such places have become personal memories made of stories learnt, heard, or experienced, and they have been internalised as personal experiences. This proves the current values and meanings of this heritage to locals. Notions of national or universal heritage are of less significance for Romagnolian communities than the association between life-ways, culture and nature (Harrington 2004). It seems it does not matter whether this heritage is based on political and artificial purposes (as the pilot study has confirmed), or if they create an “authentic illusion” (Skounti 2009), they are still meaningful for contemporary Romagnolians, they are heritage, therefore they are legitimised despite their artificial and maybe obsolete character. Traditions are still part of the Romagnolian culture and heritage.

How does heritage work today in Romagna? From the fieldwork, it is understood that nowadays intangible heritage expressions have little political ends in terms of identity creation, however they are still politically used: as emerged from Balzani’s work (Balzani and Mazzuca 2016), the idea of Romagna based on a strong regional culture shows “the ambition to contribute to the development of a sensitivity towards an administrative reform from below, which could subvert a historical picture [of Romagna] by joining councils and provinces and providing a new sight of what we have been” (Balzani and Mazzuca 2016: preface). This statement, based on the strong regional identity of Romagna, can be used to support advocated political changes in the region aiming at unifying the whole Romagna into a unique province. It represents a contemporary political use of both the idea of Romagna and its cultural regionalism. It demonstrates that intangible heritage expressions are still given social and identity values. Practices are still performed although not in the

same way as people did before: they are still alive mainly in the countryside or discovered in specific venues that are considered to embody the Romagnoliness feelings. In this regards, what people call *traditions* is still understood as social practices and lively experiences in the countryside. They become traditions – heritage – when people perceive the fear of getting far from them. It is undeniable that some traditions coming from the rurality are less practicable and performed nowadays than in the past decades, and that the urban character of the Romagnolian cities can softener their impact, however some traditions along with other intangible heritage elements, such as food, dialect and the character of people, are still present in the whole contemporary Romagna, and convey a sense of belonging among its inhabitants, and reflect completely the UNESCO 2003 definition of intangible heritage, mainly in respect to the interaction between community and the environment. Personal connections and meanings are built up over time, and places become connected with modern people and their ancestors by adding temporal depth to these relations (Vedru 2011:53). Collective memories are still shared by locals, and are placed side by side with individual memories, which can include events from the past sometimes associated with tangible expressions of heritage that assume an identity value following its experience. It has also been demonstrated that heritage underpins the context where habitus is reproduced, and that it is at the basis of the identity feeling and sense of place in Romagna making Romagna a place as well.

9.6. Holistic approach to Romagnolian heritage

The third question I sought to address was related to ways of shortening the gap between intangible and intangible heritage expressions in Romagna. It has already

been stressed that heritage is a process and that any distinction between tangible and intangible, although practical, is inconsistent and inaccurate (Chapters 4 and 5). The results of the fieldwork have confirmed what announced in the applied theories in relation to the work that heritage does in its expressions of tangible and intangible. In accordance with the theories on heritage, I argue that the reasons behind this classification derive from the values given to some places, practices and objects to turn them into heritage. Some values are better conveyed through specific forms of heritage: often the intangible and everyday life convey social and identity values, while other values can be better reflected into more tangible forms of heritage, such as monuments and architectures, which often feed the AHD. Being far from getting back to the dialectical relationship between authorised and alternative heritage discourses discussed above, I would like to embrace a more holistic approach to heritage, as advised by many authors, such as Harrison and Smith, and consider heritage in Romagna as a process or a set of relationships (Harrison 2010, 2013; Smith 2006). My aim is not to equate all heritage expressions in Romagna as they are not the reflection of the same values, however I would like to shorten the gap between tangible and intangible expressions and consider heritage in Romagna as a unique process. The idea of Romagna lies in the everyday and cultural practices typical of the rural world, it is undeniable, and they find a breeding ground in the intangible heritage expressions. Applied theories discussed previously support the idea of social and identity values conveyed through the intangible: in fact, Romagnoliness feelings are all expressed through the intangible. What is surprising is the lack of involvement of locals in monuments and built heritage as they fail to reflect a sense of belonging, which should be typical of heritage expressions in general. To shorten this gap, I assert that it is possible to work on both aspects of heritage to make local Romagnolian community feel closer to its heritage and

consider it as a process. In this view, the principle generating heritage is the same for its both forms, only the outcomes appear to be different. Heritage is the process itself: what we see or perceive today are the outcomes of that process, where the tangible and intangible are wrapped together in more or less perceptible ways (Harrison 2010, 2013; Rudolff 2010). Bearing this in mind, I would like to suggest some ways to try to re-conciliate the outcomes of the heritage process, or at least to make them closer to Romagnolians. In order to do so, I believe it is necessary to act on several fronts in relation to both expressions of heritage.

From the survey, it has emerged that intangible heritage expressions better convey the sense of Romagnolian identity: it has been argued that traditions are heritage as they are still meaningful for locals and, although artificially created, they are legitimised for their contemporary values. I argue that intangible heritage expressions need to be performed and kept alive as long as they are meaningful to local people. Romagnolian cultural practices, for instance, are quite old and their reading in regional terms, supporting the creation of a regional identity, is dated back to the end of the 19th century; this feeling is still alive. However, at some point in the future, due to natural contextual changes – physiological changes within society, or globalisation or lack of interest expressed by young generation in the two way process of cultural transmission – cultural elements and heritage will need to be renewed to speak about the new values attached to them, and to respond to new needs. When it happens, it is possible to take two directions: freezing them to be a memorandum of how Romagnolian culture has been in a certain time of its flow – this solution could clash with all principles underlying the conceptualisation of heritage, mainly in its intangible forms (Chapter 5) – or let them go, being aware of, and accepting, the fluid and dynamic nature of heritage based on changing values. The outcome of the first option

could be the commodification of heritage, where heritage becomes less as a projector of identity, and enter the sphere of the economic resources. In this situation, heritage would lose its social value, which could be maintained only if heritage remains outside formal listing or official processes. Yet, a formula which could mediate the pure commodification of heritage with the preservation of a snapshot of Romagnolian traditions could be represented by the potential of eco-museology through the engagement with local people to remark local distinctiveness. The outcomes of the second alternative would be more in line with the conceptualisation of heritage and its renewal to display new values reflecting socio-cultural and economic and political changes. Traditions and practices are destined to change in order to absorb new practices, which in the future, may become traditional practices, although invented one more time. Examples of recently “invented traditions” in Romagna are represented by the “Pink Night” (the event was created in 2006 with the scope to shift the focus away from the degeneration of life-style associated to some dancing clubs in the area of Riccione – Fig.9.6), or the well-established Ravenna Festival (Fig.9.7), introduced in 1990. Both events are now considered as traditional.

Figure 9-6 Pink Night on the Rimini coast

(From the web: http://www.romagnanoi.it/news/news/1236754/Notte-Rosa—guida-minima-per.html).

Figure 9-7 Ravenna Festival

(From the web:http://www.turismo.ra.it/ita/Eventi/Manifestazioni-e-iniziative/Musica/Ravenna-Festival-%E2%80%A2-2018).

Between the two alternatives, I would support the second one as in line with the heritage studies perspective; however time will help local community to embrace one or the other option. A similar discourse can be applied in terms of authorised versus alternative heritage discourses: I have previously argued that Romagnolian traditions represented an example of alternative heritage discourse in opposition to the process of nationalism. In the future, this alternative heritage discourse may become an authorised heritage discourse, maybe not based on the same elements but can be in contrast with other minorities in the area, which can elaborate a new and diverse

alternative discourse in opposition. Alternatively, compatible elements from minorities could be included into a renewed Romagnolian culture.

Where tangible heritage expressions are concerned, it is a different matter and there is more room for manoeuvre: in Romagna monuments are resulted as being detached from the local community, and often failing to represent identity feelings, although they represent the history of this land, which, as showed, can praise an illustrious past. I strongly support an intervention to fill in this gap: from the survey it has emerged that people feel close to certain monuments when they are part of individual memories, that means when they have been told or experienced within specific narratives, often associated to beloved people and good memories. Bearing this in mind, new narratives should be created to involve monuments and local people, and to attach further values to them, in addition to the historic and aesthetic ones: new narratives could anchor a sense of belonging to those forms of heritage as well, which are at the moment neglected in terms of identity by the locals. In order to tell new narratives and attach new values, knowledge needs to increase, and consequently, awareness. A way to develop further knowledge could be through the *use* of monuments, to host special events, for instance, or new exhibitions and storytelling, or new narratives to associate some of the daily activities to these forms of heritage: monuments should be more experienced by locals. A good example has already been done with the creation of the Theodora cake to bond the city of Ravenna with its past in the everyday context. Another example could be the creation of new representations to link the past with the present: in this sense, in October 2018, in Ravenna was held a historical commemoration to celebrate the myth of the Roman Legio I Italica, wanted by Nero the Emperor, where fake Roman legionnaires walked around the city (Fig.9.8). This historical commemoration wanted to be an

educational event both to involve locals in the past of the city and celebrate the forthcoming opening of the Classis Museum (Fig.9.9) hosting about 800 piece of art coming mainly from the ancient Roman Port located in Classe (Ravenna) (Fig.9-10).

Figure 9-8 Historical commemoration of the Roman Legio I Italica (Ravenna)

(From the web: http://www.ravennanotizie.it/articoli/2018/10/14/rievocazioni-storiche.-successo-dellaccampamento-dei-legionari-romani-presso-il-museo-classis.html).

Figure 9-9 Museum of Classe (Ravenna).

(From the web: http://www.ravennatoday.it/cronaca/quello-di-classe-sara-un-museo-davvero-unico-il-presidente-svela-i-primi-dettagli.html).

Figure 9-10 The ancient port of Classe
(From the web: https://www.ravennantica.it/antico-porto-area-archeologica/).

This view enforces the idea of agency having an active role in shaping the transmission of practices. They can modified the habitus by adding knowledge and cultural capital, which go into the circle and reproduction of habitus modifying it. An enhanced and richer habitus can then be passed on. Increasing knowledge of tangible heritage would allow locals to increase the composition of their capital to include more cultural capital in addition to the already owned social capital, and in turn, to pass it on in order to include it in people's future habitus. Also social capital, which is quite high in the region due to its political roots as explained above, could be increased in terms of networking, shared values and trust, and it could contribute to the development of more specific activities related to heritage. To sum up, I would like to stress two key concepts that could support a more holistic approach to heritage in Romagna: more *participation* of the local community in the heritage process, and, subsequently, more *knowledge* of heritage itself. More knowledge often brings more participation. More participation show the active role of agency in transmitting habitus (and not a pre-determinist structure), where heritage can be an actor in the filed. Working on heritage through participation would increase cultural capital to be passed on through habitus to generate a new and culturally enriched habitus.

A more holistic approach to heritage in Romagna would also allow to use heritage, in its unitary meaning, to convey the image of Romagna as a *place*. If a more holistic approach to heritage could be embraced in Romagna, this new heritage discourse should acknowledge specific objects, monuments and expressions as heritage, and reconnect them to a unitary concept. The disconnection between the two forms of heritage was also evident from tourists' data, which have highlighted predominantly knowledge of tangible heritage, while intangible heritage expressions were a pleasant surprise once in loco.

These reflections on some ways forward to approach Romagnolian heritage in a more holistic manner could be the subject of further studies on both heritage and tourism. For instance, in accordance with Campelo's theory on destination branding (Campelo *et al*. 2014), the sense of place is intrinsically bond to the local community as meaning maker by virtue of their history and practices. This implies that an involvement of the local community in order to increase a place's appeal and reinforce the destination brand strategies is desirable. However, in the case of Romagna, it has emerged from the fieldwork that residents are often left aside in the branding process: tourist materials promote mainly some aspects of heritage, to be precise, monuments and Ravenna byzantine churches and leave little space to the character of the region and the set of meanings that contribute to the creation of the sense of place. Campelo argues that "there is a void in understanding sense of place as it is experienced by local residents and its implications for an effective destination brand" (Campelo *et al*. 2014: 154). From here, the consequences are twofold: on one side, locals' sense of place cannot perceived by tourists, who have a partial experience of what the real Romagna is. That means they miss the set of meanings and the part of the habitus that characterises Romagna as a place; on the other side,

locals, probably due to their habitus, seem to be superficially interested in the tourist attractions such as monuments, museums and archaeological sites, along with the history itself of their cities. There is a sense of pride, which does not turn into a real interest in some forms of heritage. However, in support of a major involvement of the local community, I have noticed that in the recent years something has been done. In fact, during the literature review phase, I came across several guide books (Touring Club 2016), which encouraged not only a visit to major monuments in the area, but also brought a bit of light on what tourists could do in the area. This approach has encouraged tourists both to see monuments and take active part to the social life of the destination place by tasting local food, taking part to cycling tours in the pine forests, which are peculiar to the region and part of the Romagnolian beloved landscape. This approaches can be understood as an attempt to convey a sense of place, that sense of place which makes Romagna a set of meanings for the local community.

In parallel, further research could concentrate on other less explored themes, such as the relationship between intangible heritage expressions and the deterritorialisation process as described by Appadurai (1996), according to which cultures change faster than some decades ago and are less anchored to a territory, producing the so called “community of feelings” (Appadurai 1996). This theme has been highlighted by some interviewees by affirming that when they are abroad, they show their pride in coming from such a land, and they perform even more intensively some of the local traditions. Also new tourist strategies could be developed in order to sustain a more holistic approach to the Romagnolian heritage based on the image of Romagna as conveyed through both tangible and intangible expressions of

heritage, keeping in mind that heritage is always a process occurring in the present and expressing contemporary needs, values and meanings.

9.7. Conclusions

In this final chapter i have drawn some conclusions on the results obtained from the fieldwork and contextualised them into the heritage studies framework in order to answer the main research questions to understand how the Romagnolian identity is conveyed through heritage, the distinction between tangible and intangible heritage, and whether the gap between heritage expressions can be shortened.

Results have confirmed the first impressions raised from the pilot study: Romagnolians have a strong sense of belonging and identity towards their land and this feeling is better expressed through intangible heritage, such as food, dialect, landscape, traditions and the way Romagnolian people express themselves. All those elements convey a sense of identity and belonging wide spread in the region. On the contrary, tangible heritage is mainly representative of the city where monuments stand, they often lack of local involvement and also of knowledge. They raise pride, admiration, astonishment, but lack of real interest or collective identity, which conversely was showed by tourists.

This context is quite interesting from a heritage studies perspective. To explain it, I have kept the historical reconstruction of the identity formation made by Balzani, and within it, I have applied all theories presented in the literature review regarding the notion of heritage (dichotomies underling the whole concept, such as tangible versus intangible, official versus unofficial heritage and authorised versus alternative

heritage discourses, along with its social value as anchor of identity feelings), and the notion of habitus as a carrier of the past into the present where agents have a fundamental role, although not fully recognised by Bourdieu.

My conclusions are that Romagna is perceived as a place, that means a space with meanings and values given by its inhabitants. Romagna is an emotional feeling, whose confines are vague because it lies mainly in the mind of people, it is an imagined community, which makes people feel as bounded together although they do not know each other, nor their ancestors. People were, and still are, gathered on the basis of collective memories based on invented “traditions” created for political ends. Artificiality has been proved not to be a matter: people feel strongly part of the community anyway. Romagna is performed in the everyday life through cultural practices, food, dialect and people. It is a place where the concepts of identity, place identity and sense of place are underpinned by the heritage, mainly in its intangible expressions. In the past some cultural elements were chosen by intellectuals to create the regional identity, and those elements have been passed on through the notion of habitus: nowadays those elements, although not used to create an identity, are recognised as still important by interviewees, they have still values, they have identity and social values as the survey has demonstrated, therefore they are legitimated as heritage, because people still give values to them. As demonstrated, Romagna represents a fertile ground where to undertake discourses on the conceptualisation of heritage, mainly the dichotomies between the use of tangible and intangible heritage, official and authorised heritage versus unofficial and alternative heritage discourses. Here, intangible heritage is given a strong social value, which is used as glue among community. Its essence lies in the everyday life, where intangible heritage, often in its unofficial forms, can be better exploited to

challenge the imposition and the presence of official and authorised heritage. Tangible and intangible forms of heritage are often an expression of different values and contexts, where intangible is more related to social and identity values and rooted into the everyday life.

As stated above, heritage underpins the local sense of place, sense of belonging and identity, along with the notions of habitus, although in a slightly different manner: it explains how and way people behave and act in a certain way, how people do things, which is informed by the past and, in turn, it informs the future. Social culture is embodied through the notion of habitus, that means that taste, preference, acting, speaking, and food, are the result of the work of habitus within the constraints of time and ancestry. Habitus has brought into the present cultural practices, originally rooted into the agricultural world, along with the way of behaving, often rough, always sociable, the passion of and interest to politics, which is considered as a consistent part of Romagnolian identity. However, this schema is not static, but there is still space for manoeuvre in virtue of the active role of agency in absorbing or rejecting changes, increasing capital (mainly social and cultural) and playing with it in order to shape practices to transmit. It has been demonstrated that heritage underpins identity feelings, sense of place and belonging; it also can play an important role in the generation of practices within the context of habitus. Habitus carries heritage that can act as an actor to modify the habitus itself during transmission: Romagnolian habitus has brought a rural past, which can be enriched nowadays by increasing the cultural capital (in addition to the already existing strong social capital of Romagnolians) if all expressions of local heritage begin to be part of people's lives in a more conscious manner. In this view, broader is the participation of locals to the whole heritage process, more likely the habitus will be modified during transmissions

to include further cultural capital. This process, however, cannot work in the whole Romagna in the same way, as habitus acts differently in different contexts, such as rural/urban and across generations (young/old generations).

To conclude, I would like to support a more holistic approach to heritage in Romagna to fill the gap between the local community and tangible heritage expressions, as raised from the fieldwork. It would be desirable to make the local community closer to its entire heritage by increasing knowledge, awareness and participation into the local heritage, so that also tangible heritage expressions can convey sense of place and identity, and major cultural capital can be transmitted through habitus, where the role of people as performer and carrier is relevant. This approach could lead to more participation and involvement of the local community into the heritage process and could have positive implications for the future to increase the appeal of Romagna as a tourist destination respecting the local heritage in its entirety.

Appendix A

Information Sheet

Culture and identity: regional identity and heritage in Romagna

I am a PhD Researcher at the University of Birmingham (UK). I would like to kindly ask you a bit of your time to take part to my research project. Prior to deciding to take part or not, I would be grateful if you could read what this research is about , its aims and what it implies. All information about the project are reported below.

Aim of this research

The aim of this research is to understand how and why people living in Romagna perceive themselves as different from the inhabitants of the rest of the region from a cultural point of view. This project seeks to understand the link between regional identity and heritage, both tangible and intangible among local community's members.

Why should I take part to this project?

You, among other candidates, have been chosen randomly to ask some questions about heritage in Romagna.

Do I have to take part to this research?

There is no obligation to take part to this project. Participation is voluntary. If you decided to take part, you would be asked to sign a consent form, of which you will receive a copy (one copy will be left with me). In the event you would like to change your mind and no longer take part to the project, all your details will be destroyed.

This procedure is compulsory for all research undertaken by the University of Birmingham in order to prove the awareness of all participants.

What do I need to do?

You should respond to some questions or fill in a questionnaire. Your response could be recorded and transcribed later on. The researcher could ask you to take some pictures while you are visiting a heritage site.

Advantages in taking part to this research

Participation to this project does not imply any risks. The research seeks to improve the knowledge on the relationship between heritage and regional identity in Romagna. Possible outcomes of this research could also include a holistic approach to heritage in the area in order to involve the local community as well as improved tourism strategies.

Participation and privacy

Participation is voluntary and all participants have the right to withdrawn at any moment by the 30th of September 2013 without providing any justification nor reason. All recordings will be kept in my password protected laptop, and only myself and my supervisors may have access to them. All data will be kept for a period longer than the whole duration of the project as they could be used to undertake further studies and publications. Participants could not be identified unless they express the wish to do so.

For more information and contact details

if you wish to have more information on the project, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Elisa Fariselli: exf031@bham.ac.uk

(Project supervisor Dr. Roger White: r.h.white@bham.ac.uk)

Thanks for your time and participation to my project.

Consent Form

Culture and identity: regional identity and heritage in Romagna

PhD Researcher: Elisa Fariselli (exf031@bham.ac.uk)

I confirm I have read and understood the information sheet on (date)..... for the above research.

I have had the opportunity to ask questions on the research.

I am aware my participation to the project is voluntary and I can withdraw at any moment without providing any explanations.

I am aware that data provided can be seen by responsible people involved in the project (researcher and supervisors). I give researcher my permission to use sensitively such data.

I agree to be recorded (audio and/or video) during this interview.

I agree to be the subject of personal observation undertaken by the researcher.

I am aware that my responses will be kept confidential.

I agree to take part to this project.

---------- ---------- ----------
Name of the participant Date Signature

---------- ---------- ----------
Researcher Date Signature

One copy to the researcher and one copy to the participant.

Appendix B

Questions asked during interviewees and in questionnaires

To local community members:

Date: _____
Interview No: _____

General Information

Age:	18-39	40-59	60+
Gender:	M	F	
Higher Education:			
Job Title:			

1 What is Romagna for you?

2 Do you feel yourself being Romagnolian?

Is being Romagnolian part of your identity?

What does it mean to you?

Do you perceive this type of identity as important to you?

What do you think better represent the Romagnolian identity?

If you think about tangible heritage, such as monuments or other sites in your city or Romagna, do you think they reflect your feeling of being Romagnolian?

And what about local traditions?

3 What are for you the typical characteristics of the Romagnolian culture?

Are Romagnolian traditions valuable for you? Why?

Do you know or practice any of the most common traditions?

How have they been passed on to you?

Have you ever visited some of the monuments located in Romagna on in your city?

What do they mean to you?

4 Do you think tourists visiting Romagna can understand the real Romagnolian soul and identity? Can you motivate your answer?

What is the role of monuments in the process of identity formation and consolidation?

What is the role of your city monuments in your daily life?

Does the story of these monuments help you understand the history of this land or where you come from?

And what about local traditions?

5 Do you think Romagnolian traditions are threatened by globalisation?

Do you think the image of Romagna, as it is perceived today, can last in the mind of people for long time?

Do you think monuments should be take more part to the daily life of locals?

Do you think Romagna could become a unique cultural area integrating in a more holistic approach tangible and intangible heritage?

6 Do you think that traditions, such as the Romagnolian ones, represent a subaltern cultural heritage, maybe compared to tangible expressions of heritage?

Do you think locals visiting monuments feel themselves as visitors or participants to those monuments?

If the value and significance of some expressions of heritage are assessed by experts, it seems that local communities have little voice on their evaluation and are passive spectators. Do you agree with this statement?

Do you think all expressions of heritage can be used for commodification purposes?

Thanks for taking part to my research!

To tourists:

Date: _____
Interview No: _____

General Information

Age:	18-39	40-59	60+
Gender:	M	F	
Higher Education:			
Job Title:			

1 What does cultural heritage mean to you?

Do you think heritage expressions are part of one's identity?

Which type of identity are you referring to?

Do you think the monument in front of you represents your identity or part of it?

2 Do you know something about Romagnolian identity?

By visiting the area, do you perceive something about its identity or locals' identity?

Do you think these monuments may represent part of the Romagnolian identity? Why?

What do you think better represent Romagnolian identity?

What do you know about local traditions?

And about local people?

Do you think traditions or monuments are better examples of Romagnolian traditions?

Would you like to know more about the local traditions? How?

Some of those monuments are part of the UNESCO World Heritage List. What does it mean to you?

Do you perceive some cultural differences between Emilia and Romagna?

If you have visited other Romagnolian cities, do you perceive some difference s among them?

3 Why did you decide to visit this area?

What was the most striking thing you have seen?

Following your tour, has the image of the territory changed compared to the idea you had before visiting it?

Thanks for taking part to my research!

Appendix C

Local community sample description

n°	Gender	Age	Education	Profession	Venue
001	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Office worker	House in Ravenna
002	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Office worker	House in Ravenna
003	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Cultural event organiser	Coffee shop
004	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Lawyer	Coffee shop
005	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Self-employed	Feast in Rimini
006	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Marketing officer	Art Exhibition Rimini
007	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Businessman	Art Exhibition Rimini
008	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Self-employed	Art Exhibition Rimini
009	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Businessman	Art Exhibition Rimini
011	F	60+	n/a	n/a	Art Exhibition Rimini
012	M	40-60	n/a	n/a	Ravenna, city centre
013	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	n/a	Ravenna, city centre
014	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna, city centre
015	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Student	Ravenna, University
016	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Admin at Uni	Ravenna, University
017	F	60+	n/a	n/a	Ravenna, city centre
018	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Tourist Guide	Ravenna, San Vitale
019	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Office worker	Beach
020	F	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	Worker	Beach
021	M	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	Worker	Beach
022	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Worker	Beach
023	F	60+	Higher Ed.	Primary Teacher	Beach
024	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Sails maker	Coffee shop
025	F	60+	Primary Ed.	Housewife	House in Ravenna countryside (Massa Lombarda)
026	M	60+	Primary Ed.	Lorry Driver	Home in Ravenna countryside (Massa Lombarda)
027	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Museum Security	Ravenna, San Vitale
028	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Shop keeper	Coffee shop
029	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Russi, city centre

030	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Beautician	Russi, city centre
031	F	60+	Primary Ed.	Shop keeper	Russi, city centre
032	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Biologist	Coffee shop
033	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	B&B owner	Beach
034	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Office worker	Beach
035	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Musician	Beach
036	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Office worker	Bagnacavallo, city centre
037(a)	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Archaeologist	Rimini coffee shop
037(b)	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Accountant	Rimini coffee shop
038(a)	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	House in Forlì countryside
038(b)	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Self-employed and council member	House in Forli countryside
039	M	60+	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Beach
040(a)	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Archaeologist	House in Rimini
040(b)	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	IT technician	House in Rimini
041	F	60+	Secondary Ed.	Politician	Council building in Cesena
042	M	60+	Higher Ed.	Secondary Teacher (retired) and politician	Council building in Cesena
043	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Electrician (retired)	Coffee shop on the beach
044	M	60+	n/a	n/a	Coffee shop on the beach
045	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Shop clerk	Beach
046	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Librarian	Ravenna, city centre
047	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Art sector	Rimini, city centre
048	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Art sector	Rimini, city centre
049	M	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	n/a	Rimini, city centre
050	M	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	n/a	Rimini, city centre
051	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Longiano, house
052	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Marketing officer	Bagnacavallo, city centre
053	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Animal shop manager	Bagnacavallo, city centre
054(a)	F	18-39	n/a	n/a	Forli, Piazza Saffi
054(b)	F	40-60	n/a	n/a	Forli Piazza Saffi
054(c)	M	40-60	n/a	n/a	Forli Piazza Saffi
055	F	40-60	n/a	n/a	Ravenna, city centre
056	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna, city centre

057	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Warehouse worker	Village Feast, Ravenna countryside
058	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Office manager	Village Feast, Ravenna countryside
059(a)	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Village Feast, Ravenna countryside
059(b)	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Accountant	Village Feast, Ravenna countryside
060	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	n/a	Rimini city centre
061	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Surveyor	Rimini city centre
062	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Electrician	Rimini city centre
063	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Electrician	Cervia
064	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Archaeologist	Ravenna, San Vitale
065	F	60+	Primary Ed.	Worker	Feast on the seaside
066	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Office worker	Feast on the seaside
067	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Feast on the seaside
068	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Historian	Feast on the seaside
069	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Housewife	Cervia

Tourists sample description

n°	Gender	Age	Education	Venue
001	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
002	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
003	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
004	M	60+	Secondary Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
005	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
006	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
007	F	60+	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
009	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
010	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
011	M	60+	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
012	F	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
013	F	60+	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
014	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
015(a)	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
015(b)	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
017	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
018	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
020	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
021	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
022	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
023	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
024	M	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
025	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
026	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
027	M	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
028	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo Church
029	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Cesena, Malatestiana Library
030	F	60+	Secondary Ed.	Cesena, Malatestiana Library
031	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
032	M	60+	Higher Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
033	M	18-39	n/a	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
034	M	60+	Secondary Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus
035	M	60+	Secondary Ed.	Rimini, Arch of Augustus

036	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Neonian Baptistery
037	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Neonian Baptistery
038	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Neonian Baptistery
039	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Neonian Baptistery
040	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
041	F	60+	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
042	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
043(a)	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
043(b)	F	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
044	M	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
045	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
046	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
047(a)	F	18-39	n/a	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
047(b)	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
048	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
049	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
050	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
051	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
052	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
053	M	18-39	n/a	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
054	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
055	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
056	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
057	M	60+	Primary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
058	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
059	M	60+	Primary Ed.	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
060	M	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, San Vitale Church
061	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
062	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
063	F	60+	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
064	M	60+	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
065	F	18-39	n/a	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
066	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
067	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
068	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
069	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric
070	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo
071	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo

072	M	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo
073	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo
074	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo
075	F	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo
076	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo
077	M	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo
078	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classis
079	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classis
080	F	60+	Primary Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classis
081	M	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classis
082	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classis
083	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classis
084	F	40-60	n/a	Ravenna, Ancient Port of Classis
085	M	60+	Primary Ed.	Ravenna, Ancient Port of Classis
086	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Ancient Port of Classis
087	F	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Baptistery of Arians
088(a)	F	40-60	Intermediate Ed.	Ravenna, Baptistery of Arians
088(b)	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Ravenna, Baptistery of Arians

Questionnaires sample description

n°	Gender	Age	Education	Profession	Location
001	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna
002	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Health and Safety Manager	Ravenna, countryside (San Zaccaria)
003	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Artist, self employed	Ravenna, countryside
004	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Bank clerk	Ravenna, countryside
005	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Health and Safety Manager	Russi
006	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna
007	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Forlì countryside
008	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Electrician	Forlì countryside
009	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside
010	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Cultural heritage consultant	Ravenna countryside (Santerno)
011	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Forlì
012	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Financial Advisor	Ravenna
013	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Robotic system designer	Cervia
014	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Archaeologist	Ravenna countryside (Mandriole)
015	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Cabin Crew	Ravenna
016	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Forlì
017	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside (Lugo)
018	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside (Lugo)
019	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Engineer	Imola
020	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Imola
021	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Cesena
022	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Self-employed	Cesena
023	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Forlì countryside
024	M	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Insurance agent	Forlì
025	M	40-60	Higher Ed.	Insurance agent	Forlì
026	M	60+	Intermediate Ed.	Worker	Rimini
027	M	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	Shop clerk	Rimini
028	F	60+	Secondary Ed.	Self-employed	Ravenna countryside

029	F	60+	Higher Ed.	Primary teacher (retired)	Rimini
030	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Pianist	Rimini
031	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Officer worker	Rimini
032	M	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Rimini
033	F	40-60	Higher Ed.	Secretary	Forlì
034	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Rimini countryside (Santarcangleo)
035	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Riccione (Rimini)
036	F	18-39	Intermediate Ed.	Retailer	Ravenna
037	F	18-39	Secondary Ed.	Administrative secretary	Forlì countryside (Longiano)
038	F	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Cesena
039	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside (Lugo)
040	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside (Lugo)
041	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside (Lugo)
042	F	40-60	Secondary Ed.	Office worker	Ravenna countryside (Lugo)
043	M	18-39	Higher Ed.	Archaeologist	Forlì

Appendix D

In this section, translations of significant interviews and questionnaires are reported. This Appendix contains Part 1 related to responses to the first question “What is Romagna for you”; Part 2 on the second question related to the feeling of being Romagnolian and reasons behind it; and Part 3 on the differences between Ravenna and the other Romagnolian cities.

Part 1

“Romagna is the land of our origins” [middle age man, self-employed].

“Romagna is my grandfather’s land and I associate it with all things I have learnt in my childhood […] it is a melting pot of many thing, which are meaningful to me” […]. Romagna has no confines to me, you may find some limits in old and historic documents to delimit an area called Romanìa […] It is not an island like Sardinia, you have a geographical limit there, I see Romagna into its traditions, such as traditional food” [young business man].

“Romagna is my native land, it is my traditions and the origin of my family, a way of living which is peculiar to us and different from others’” [young man, worker]

“It is my land as I was born here. If feel Romagnolian of course in everything. For what we did, we danced, there were many songs on Romagna. […] I did not know cooking but I learnt when I got married, when I was young I used to go to the field and stay home and help my aunty inside, I prepared the table for our meals. […] I do not know monuments, I was a labourer and I stayed in the field at all time, I

remember when some machines [agricultural machineries] *were used to help with the grain spikes, when that machine arrived, it was a kind of party for us, I remember I used to wear a nice dress and a bow in my hair. I tried to tell these practices to my children but they were not interested, like dialect. They did learn nothing from me about that"* [elder woman, housewife]

"Romagna is my land, although an adoptive land, the place where I feel home" [young man, heritage sector]

"It is not just a physical place; it is my city […] and our identity […]. Walking around the city of Ravenna, in the city centre, transmits a sense of calm and peace […] Ravenna is my home" [young woman, biologist]

"Romagna is everything" [elder man, musician]

"It is home. Full stop" [young woman, archaeologist]

"Romagna is a bond, which you feel inside and you take with you wherever you go, it links you with your world. It is difficult to explain" [middle age man, office worker]

"Romagna is my adoptive land; I was born in Pompeii and grown up in Emilia, however only here [Romagna] I feel completely home" [elder man, office worker]

"Romagna means eating good food, hills, sea, Romagna means friendly people, not extremely open towards what and who is unknown, but simple people although not very cultivated in terms of cultural knowledge" [young woman, archaeologist]

"It is a region inhabited by rural and agricultural people, who know how to enjoy the life both in terms of food and entertainment. In addition, they are hard workers" [young man, IT technician]

"It is the land and the sea" [middle-age woman]

"Romagna is the joy, the life and the joy of living" [middle-age woman]

"It is my homeland, the land of happiness" [middle.age man, warehouse worker]

"Romagna is the place where I was born, the land where I feel home and from which I cannot be separated for long periods of time. I could not live anywhere else, it is my home" [middle-age woman, office manager]

"It is the place where I was born, which I could never leave […] it is the sea, a land where you can easily live" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I am Romagnolian by origins; Romagnolians are all attached to their land" [middle-age man, electrician]

"It is a demanding question. Romagna is a region, a portion of a region […] a body of traditions; well I was not ready for this question" [young man, electrician]

"My native land, where my roots are" [young man, archaeologist]

"Romagna is my country, I feel attached to it, I feel Romagnolian, it is my land and I am Romagnolian, Romagnolian and Romagnolian" [elder woman, housewife]

"Romagna is the place where I was born, where I have chosen to start a family and where I work. Romagna is for me a unique territory with a specific cultural identity" [young man, artist]

"It is hard to explain what Romagna is for me. Being the land where I was born, there is a strong sense of belonging towards it. It is part of myself, a part which I notice mainly when I go far from it, but which I take always with me in everything I do, think and eat! It is something that I would not exchange with anything else and something I would never live without" [young man, electrician]

"It is my land where there is everything: sea, hills, countryside. In addition, it is culture, good food and wine" [young woman, office worker]

"Romagna is my home, my identity, my way of being, my homeland and my traditions. I feel very proud of being Romagnolian. It is difficult to explain what it is, it is something you feel inside you and make you feel proud. Barely I could move away from my land" [young man, financial advisor]

"It is my land, the place where I was born, where my roots are, where I have lived for a long period of my life and the place where I always need to come back" [young man, office worker]

"Romagna is land, sun and traditions. It means feeling home, passing on traditions, habits and values taught to me" [middle-age woman, office worker]

Part 2

"Yes, I feel Romagnolian for better or for worse" [middle-age man]

"*I feel totally Romagnolian; I do not have anything else inside me"* [elder woman, worker]

“I feel just half Romagnolian” [young man, IT technician]

“Yes and no, just because I would have preferred living in a bigger city, more open-mind, Romagna is quite close with a narrow view, apart from this, yes, I fell well here” [young woman, office worker]

“*Partially, it is more due to parentage than participation to the local events”* [young man, health and safety manager]

“Some people criticise us but in the end they copy us. We are told to be false as we are open initially but suddenly we become close” [young man, health and safety manager]

“Being Romagnolian means living in a land with specific features both at cultural and social levels” [young business man]

Romagna is not homogeneous; it is different within its parts: there is a Romagna close to the sea, which is different from the Romagna of the countryside. It is made of combative people who have encountered uncommon hostilities in the past; all of this means being Romagnolian” [middle-age man, sails maker]

“Once people used to work a lot, there was a lot of work time ago. Farmers, in summer during the harvesting grain, used to gather together, mainly at evenings, at farmyards where they had dinner, danced and had fun until late. It was very common at that time, no nowadays as there are too many machineries doing human jobs. […]. Or, I remember people working at sugar factories all week round...for me being Romagnolian is this” [elder man, lorry driver]

"Romagna is a kind of Indian Reservation […] I feel Romagnolian in the way I live, let's say sometimes libertine but with some limits, a way of taking the life easy" [middle-age man, shop keeper]

"It is being proud of and attached to our traditions" [middle-age woman, B&B owner]

"I can see Romagnolian mind in our traditions, our feasts, within Romagnolian people" [young man, electrician]

"It is in the food, traditions, devotion to the family, because Romagnolians are pro family" [elder woman, worker]

"Our character is different, we are open, talkative, suspicious, we have a different accent" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Our ability to simplify and our openness. […] our lack of ambiguity and an attitude towards persistence" [young man, health and safety manager]

"Being Romagnolian means identifying ourselves with local traditions, loving our land and understanding our dialect" [young man, artist]

"Being Romagnolian means being proud of my provincialism, able to experience all four seasons and able to reach hills or sea quickly" [young man, shop clerk]

Part 3

"Ravenna, and some of its inhabitants keep saying that Ravenna is not a typical Romagnolian city, is different. Its inhabitants present themselves in a different manner, maybe more unpleasant and annoying than other Romagnolians. In Ravenna there is a trite provincialism, which is just the other side of the coin of snobbery […] they try to get rid of their accent in any way, mainly of the typical Romagnolian sound of the letter s […] my cousins from Rimini did not care about it while here we tend to eliminate it. […] Ravenna lies isolated in the area" [interview 018]

"Between Ravenna inhabitants and the rest of Romagnolians there are some differences […] Ravenna was washed up from the rest of Romagna. People from Ravenna have always been snob towards strangers, even towards people coming from confining regions, such as Marche […] probably because its inhabitants in the 60s were wealthy, then they were worried about losing their wealth" [elder man, worker]

Appendix E

In this section are reported extracts from interviews and questionnaires related to the role of traditions (Part 1) and monuments (Part 2).

Part 1

"Traditions give you an input for all your life […], I have experienced many Romagnolian traditions, I was there, and took part to some of them". [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Traditions are important but it is also important that they change" [young woman, cultural event organiser]

"Our traditions are important because they remind us of our origins and our attachment to the land. I feel them close to me in virtue of the fact they were part of my family within a rural reality" [young woman, office worker]

"Traditions are important and represent the starting point for my personal growth" [young man, office worker]

"In our areas […] there are traditions, I would say, countryside traditions, related to the land and agriculture, it is a farming culture […] where the focal point was the family, old farming families in the same house from grandparents to little ones" [young woman, worker]

"I have visited all monuments in Ravenna, there are amazing mosaics" [elder woman, beautician]

“Romagna is a land of agriculture […] and Romagnolians are people attached to the territory and land” [elder man, lorry driver]

“Romagnolians are really attached to some things, to the food, to their agricultural tradition, such as going to the field, picking peas, play with chicks; I could never share it with my children, where am I supposed to go to share this type of life? They are traditions intended to get lost. [...]probably they will be lost due to convenience, who is going to make home-made pasta or kill chicken for cooking nowadays? Nobody wants to waste time in these activities, but it is a shame as in this way you are losing part of your identity” [young woman, archaeologist].

“Nowadays our traditions are a bit weaker, but when I go to visit my relatives, I can breathe our traditions, our food but also our activities during the day, our dialect, which is still used in the countryside and it is amazing, I feel really attached to our dialect, it is part of my life” [young woman, art sector]

“Our dialect is the maximum expression of wisdom and pragmatism of Romagnolians, which are, in my opinion, one of the best expression of common sense, which is spread around all Italy, but here in Romagna it has reached peaks through our local language and its sayings” [young man, historian]

“There are fascinating things in our dialect, things that send you back again to your land and say more than the same word in Italian. […] I feel really attached to the agricultural parts of our traditions” [young man, animal shop manager]

“if I think about Romagnolian culture, I can imagine a long table laden with typical food absolutely home-made food, may be on the shadow, and with the host, of course a female, making sure everyone, who may not know the person next to them,

eats more than enough and everyone is happy to be there" [young woman, office worker]

"I feel very close to our cuisine and to some expressions of our dialect" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"monuments here are something to be proud of" [young woman, office worker]

"monuments nowadays have a role only within our aesthetic memory, we visit them but we no longer experience them" [young man, health and safety manager]

"as tangible presence, monuments help to enforce the story they tell" [young woman, archaeologist]

"Traditions help build my identity" [elder man, worker]

"I think local traditions represent my sense of being Romagnolian" [young woman, office worker]

"Real traditions maintain identity of every region" [middle-age woman, secretary]

"Essence of being Romagnolian is our traditions" [middle-age woman, B&B owner]

"Romagna is a geographic, cultural and traditional place shared by different councils. […] it differs from the close Emilia mainly from a geographical point of view because Romagna is crossed by the main Emilia road and cities on it are more open and similar to Emilian cities. On the contrary, Ravenna, which rises up on a marshy

land, is more close. This geography affects the territorial identities" [young man, lawyer].

"Our dialect is amazing" [young man, historian]

Part 2

"here history is everywhere, I do not feel as a tourist, if I go to San Vitale, I do not pay the ticket" [young woman, cultural event organiser]

"We live surrounded by monuments, the Augustus triumphal arch for instance, or the Tiberius bridge, they are all landmarks not only from a geographical point of view but they also remember us, at all time, where we come from. […] knowing that there are 2000 years of history related to the Augustus arch or the Tiberius bridge. It is something that belongs to our cultural history and that we bring within ourselves. It is what, until 50 years ago, it was passed by words from our grandparents to us, there is proud for that" [middle-age man, self employed]

"I would say that monuments represent the 100% of the cultural life of people" [elder woman]

"European Medieval art was born here in Ravenna […] there is a famous historian, Arnaldo Momigliano, who said that in order to understand the medieval art, it is necessary to catch the train and go to Ravenna. We, as Italians, are unlucky because we live continuously among monuments and arts, and then we perceive them as a habit, and we behave the same way for other forms of culture such as music, books. There is that attitude of becoming more mainstream that does not belong to strangers". [young man, tourist guide]

"Our monuments are beautiful, I feel emotionally involved, yes". [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Where I live, there are not real monuments, there are some historic buildings […] and they represent an interesting thing, they have their own characteristics, related to the area, related to the land of Romagna. […] they are beautiful to see and I think they may have a meaning" [young woman, worker].

"I know our monuments because I visited them when I was at school, I do not visit them usually, I have memories from school, I remember that they were beautiful, now I should visit them with my children and make them aware of our monuments as they are really masterpiece of art. I know they are appreciated from all over the world, I know that they are important". [young woman, office worker]

"[monuments] *are protected by UNESCO and Ravenna is a candidate, among other Italian cities, to become the capital of culture in 2019, and it makes me feel proud"* [middle-age woman, office worker]

"It has been ages since I have visited them last time, I visit them only when I have to accompany someone. […] I am aware that they are a benefit to this territory but we have different needs now" [middle-age man, surveyor]

"well...let me think if monuments have something to do with Romagna. They do, because they are related to Ravenna, and I am from Ravenna where there are peculiar monuments which are only here, I think in the other Romagnolian cities, I do not remember which cities are included in Romagna, there are not monuments such as these ones" [middle-age man, electrician]

“monuments have been important in the history, I do not know them very well so I do not refer to them as part of my identity” [young man, electrician]

“Sometimes when I visit other places, maybe advertised as amazing places, I do expect a lot, but when I visit them, it is natural to make comparison with my city and I feel that we have more” [young man, archaeologist]

“Churches are amazing, such as San Vitale. When I want to see something beautiful, I go inside churches, I start to look at the ceiling, then pieces of art, and listen to the music. Long time ago, in the Church of Saint Francesco, there was an old organ played by an excellent organist, I remember I was living just outside Ravenna at that time, and remember I used to cycle to get there and listen to that music, it was amazing” [elder woman, housewife]

“monuments spread in this territory are mainly a footprint of past cultures living in our land. Although they are beautiful and may raise envy, I do not perceive them as linked to the Romagnolian identity. In my personal life, these monuments have had a marginal role although I can recognise their importance” [middle-age man, office worker]

“monuments are the history of every city and history is our life. Knowledge is at the basis of our identity, we are what we are because who came before us has created everything is around us. Our monuments are like a book telling us the past history and the idea of not knowing it is like losing a part of ourself. […] the past influence they represent, therefore it is impossible to think that monuments, which represent our history, may be related only to what has been in the past”. [young woman, office worker]

"the fact that I tell these monuments to all my foreign friends means that I feel totally proud of them. I love visiting them" [young man, electrician]

"these monuments are part of the whole humanity (not Romagnolians). Walking by them I perceive the past centuries" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I think they [monuments] have a leisure role in our life" [young man, insurance agent]

"they [monuments] make me feel proud of them" [young woman, pianist]

Lack of knowledge on monuments:

"I believe some monuments represent the sense of Romagna but I cannot remember which ones as I have not visited them. They have a marginal role in my life" [young woman, office worker]

Interest towards monuments for other reasons, such as experiences in the past:

"Sometimes I go to Galla Placidia Mausoleum, only there, just to admire the mosaic representing the blue starry sky, it conveys a sense of freedom" [middle-age woman, B&B owner]

"we do love Sant'Apollinare Basilica, first of all because we got married there, then it was the place where we baptised our children, we do archaeological excavations in Classe [near our house]*. Then, when we were kids, we visited the Dante's tombs, Galla Placidia Mausoleum, San Vitale church, we experienced the pine forest where Dante set a bit of his Divine Comedy. I remember that we were taken there and teachers told us that Dante used to tie his horse at a particular tree,*

and they showed us that tree, although I am not sure it was the real tree" [elder woman, worker]

"Monuments are part of our Romagnolian heritage, but maybe we as Romagnolian, underestimate them a bit. […]. Our monuments are universal heritage, recognised by UNESCO as well. The other day, I was going around the city, and it was not really crowed, so I was able to noticed little corners, which are amazing." [elder woman, teacher]

"Although I am not in love with this type of culture, I feel proud of Ravenna, their mosaics, it is well known all around the world. The best thing of Ravenna is when you enter in some places, like San Vitale church, although I do not love churches and usually I do not visit them, when I went there for the first time in occasion of my nephew's christening. It was awesome, it was not completely illuminated, a wonderful thing, the most beautiful church in the world" [young woman, biologist]

"Some monuments represent an emblem of Romagna, for instance, in Bagnacavallo we have a little square that is dated back to, I do not remember when, but it is a beautiful square, well known in Italy or even in some parts of the world as there were shot some movies and it was used for concert due to its acoustic performance. I do not remember when it was built, but it is amazing, known all over Italy, it is beautiful. Here in Romagna we have plenty of beautiful monuments, in Ravenna for instance. Ravenna is famous all over the world, or Faenza, well famous for its ceramics. Romagna is full of monuments, may we do not know all of them, but for sure they are wonderful". [middle-age woman, office worker]

"It has happened to me to tour around Rimini some friends. I do not know monuments very well, I studied them at school. When I see the Arch of Augustus, I

feel part of the city […] I feel part of the history, of the history of Rimini" [young woman, accountant]

"[monuments] *are something amazing, I cannot talk a lot about monuments because I do not know them, often people ask me something about our monuments but unfortunately I do not know the answers, many times I have been asked for information about monuments but I am not a very cultural person. […] I know we have amazing things, even too much amazing churches, and when I get into one of those, I always wonder what genius made such amazing things"* [elder woman, shop clerk]

"I have not studied these monuments at school, teachers have never brought us to visit them, maybe it is common nowadays, but not when I was at school. […]. Romagnolians do not pay attention to these monuments" [young woman]

"I think about San Vitale because I work nearby and so I see it often" [young man, student]

"I live monuments everyday as I work here, nearby, probably 20 meters away from San Vitale" [middle-age woman, admin at University]

<u>Monuments and identity:</u>

"Monuments represent myself, it could not be in a different way, they are the physical aspects of history books, of my territory, they are tangible" [young woman, cabin crew]

"I cannot see these monuments as something really important" [middle-age man, accountant]

"I do not like monuments and things form the past. Monuments remain far from myself, something related only to the past" [young man, office worker]

"some of the monuments are too old to be able to link them to the Romagnolian identity. Some of them reflect my identity, maybe the local ones, but if I think about San Vitale or Saint' Apollinare a bit less. I think monuments help to understand where we come from only if you live consciously, otherwise they are just things in the city" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"these monuments give me a sense of identity, not local or regional one, but national identity" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Monuments represent the history of my city, part of my culture and my town, Italy, Europe and the world" [young man, shop clerk]

"monuments are there but I do not feel them, there is no bound, I do not feel them linked to the Romagna, I see them, I watch them and I like them". [middle-age woman, self employed]

"I do not feel extremely attached to our monuments, but what I like is the fact that I can still, nowadays, use the Tiberius bridge for your daily walk, usually you do not use a monument, I appreciate the use of a monument within a contemporary context, and not something that you just look at" [young woman, archaeologist]

"for sure here we have great monuments [...]but probably it is too much to be part of our identity. I mean, we are a bit byzantine, like the main monuments, but if you

think about the colosseum, it convey a sense of "Romanity" […] that means it is easier for a Rome inhabitant feeling close to the Colosseum rather than for a Romagnolian feeling close to these byzantine churches" [young man, animal shop manager]

"that type of culture [referred to the built heritage in Ravenna], are close to me, but it is something belonging not only to us but to the entire world" [elder man, office worker]

"If I think about the monuments in Ravenna, I believe they are beyond the sense of Romagna, they are universal" [elder man, worker]

"monuments may have an identity related value but I cannot see any relationship with the Romagnolian traditions" [young woman, art sector]

<u>Monuments, locality and the territory:</u>

"San Vitale is not related to Ravenna but to the old Byzantium, to the ancient capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, San Vitale or Galla Placidia are real pearl to which we are not used to […]. I may be wrong but I do not feel San Vitale as part of Ravenna" [middle-age man]

"I believe that monuments in Ravenna are only related to the Byzantine period. The idea of Romagnoliness has been created later than that. Monuments are like a beautiful postcards […] they belong to the past" [young man, financial advisor]

"Romagna is the expression of several cultures and people, such as Byzantines people, mixed together before it was defined as Romagnolian culture. Monuments do not convey a sense of Romagnoliness, you need to go to the countryside to

understand the real Romagnolian thinking. You need to breath in the countryside. […] To me, Romagnolian identity is represented by a fireplaces and a home" [middle-age man, office worker]

"Ravenna stands in the most marshy part of this region, and this aspect influences the identity of the territory. […] Ravenna has different habits compared to the other parts of the region, for instance Bologna, where everything is more open" [young man, lawyer]

The arch of Augustus, the bridge of Tiberius, the Malatestian Temple make me feel that this is my city, they represent the identity of this place. […].The Romagnolian identity is difficult to explain, it is a feeling, an emotion inside people, expressed by a way of living, way of being, it is a feeling" [young businessman]

"People come from very far too see our monuments, for us, monuments are just out there, probably we do not appreciate them and their value. You may go and visit them once, then no longer […]. If I think about monuments, I think they may represent the story of Romagna not my personal identity, not at all, monuments are far, probably because we are used to them and we not even notice them" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I cannot say that monuments represent myself. They are part of my city, of my land, I have always thought about them in a detached manner. […]. I have always experienced traditions since my childhood, and my parents tried to involve me more than I do with my children, however I try to keep our traditions alive because I believe and like them. On the other side, monuments are a huge heritage however I do not think they may represent me" [elder woman, teacher]

“Romagnolian tradition is a rural tradition, while monuments belong to Ravenna, that is the difference” [middle-age man, sails maker]

“Monuments are related to the territory of Ravenna, we have very specific monuments here, not in Forlì, Faenza and Rimini. Hang on, maybe Rimini does. But does Rimini belong to Romagna? yes yes maybe in Rimini there is something” [middle-age man, surveyor]

“Monuments and mosaics are a specific characteristic of the city of Ravenna, then they are linked with the territory, the local history and culture. They are also related to some institutions, such as the famous school of mosaic, which marks a specification of this territory” [young man, historian]

"In first instance, I believe that Romagnolian identity is represented by piadina and Sangiovese wine. […] although beautiful, I do not perceive monuments as related to the Romagnolian identity” [middle-age man, office worker]

“I can see Romagnoliness detached from monuments, it is mainly related to our accent and dialect” [young man, insurance agent]

Monuments associated to good memories and childhood:

“I know our monuments because I have visited them when I was at school. However it is not my habits to visit them nowadays. I have scholastic memories of them, I remember that they are beautiful and would like to go there with my children. […]. I feel traditions as much closer to my identity than monuments” [young man, office worker]

“Rather than monuments, I have experienced traditions in my life. Traditions have

been passed on to me from my parents, who were not cultured people, so I don't think my parents have ever visited monuments, maybe a church for their credo. I feel closer to daily traditions, traditions related to the our food, to our people who are extremely chatty" [elder woman, shop keeper]

"When I was young, I used to live in a house, which was quite close to the city centre, and with me, there were my grandparents. It was an old farmhouse, the only house survived because around it builders had built new buildings. We used to live there, and my grandfather was a farmer, in this house which was close to the city centre, and we used to live and perform our agricultural traditions, although we were very close the city centre. In the house there was a cellar, my grandfather used to make must to produce wine and I remember myself looking at him. We kept our rural traditions despite the fact that we were living inside the city. Many of my current colleagues, same age as mine, have not had these experiences, all these things to which I was very attached. I remember that between the Christmas day and the new year's eve, we used to slaughter a pig, and it was a big party, with all relatives around, I have experienced all these things, and it has been extremely important to me, […] I can still smell those odours, perfumes of old times gone". Q: do you feel that monuments represent your identity or are part of you? "you know what... I have to say only some monuments, for instance the mausoleum of Theodoricus because it was one of the places where I used to go and play. I remember I used to run up and down, climb the stairs, you didn't need to pay any tickets at that time, only a few people visited them, that is why it was my place. I can find myself in this place or even in a few other monuments as they have a value for me because I have lived and experienced them. Another place is the Rocca Brancaleone, I have experienced that place as I used to go there and sing with my band, I have felt it more than other

monuments. Other monuments just stand in the city, for instance the church of San Vitale, I have been there with my band but just a few times, other monuments are more significant to me as I have experienced them in my childhood. [middle-age woman, office worker]

I am making a summary of this interview [elder man, worker] as the transcript is too long so I can get to the point quickly: the interviewee was a man coming originally from the Marche region, which confines with Romagna to the South. He moved to Ravenna for work and, initially, he was not really happy with the move. He told me a story that used to happen to him very often when coming back to the Marche region for holiday: while driving from Romagna to Marche, every time he saw the sign marking the beginning of the administrative region of Marche, he used to say “Ohhh, now I start breathing again” [interview 022]. He definitely was feeling home only there. On the contrary, his children, born and grown up in Ravenna, had an opposite feeling: in the same occasion and every time, while driving towards Marche, they were feeling like taken away from home. In return to their daddy's words, they used to say “and now we feel we can no longer breath”. I have found this interview brilliant in terms of understanding how inputs during childhood may have an impact on the identity formation. The father was fine in Ravenna, after a while he moved in, but he identified his roots in the Marche. The same concept was valid for his children, who identified their roots in Romagna, the place where they were born and grown up. Air, breath and lightness (and their lack) were the same and opposite feelings that father and his children felt when, respectively, left Romagna to get into the Marche region.

<u>Monuments and their use and performance:</u>

Well, having chosen to be an archaeologist, it is difficult for me to see everything

in heritage, I mean, it is difficult to think about what my granny used as living places as heritage. Mainly because nowadays there is this tendency to protect cultural heritage, while I believe it should be used, we should make use of heritage places rather than only conserve, then forget them. There is a kind of exasperation to preserve tangible heritage, intangible is different, but tangible heritage is always put inside a showcase without being touched by people, then people tend to forget them as they cannot have any relationship with these objects to the extreme point of losing the perception of heritage. […]. I believe that cultural identity is extremely linked with structures, I think it works less in Romagna. For instance, if I go to Three Martiri square in Rimini, which is the old Roman foro of the Roman city, I do not have the perception that it is the foro, unless a cultural sign tells me. Therefore, if we could make people understand that this one is the old foro, and that this monument belongs to them, it is part of their own identity, then we could salvage it […] with a view to use it in order to make people aware of their identity" [young businessman]

"I was born here although my origins are different: my mum is from South Africa and my daddy from the South of Italy, however, the warmth you perceive when you are in Romagna is unique, when I come back to Ravenna, my city, and I walk around, in the city centre, it is amazing, I do love it, there are some landmarks which I adore. All these things are inescapable for me, Romagna is my home. […] I do not mind when people identify myself with the most famous things in Romagna, what do we have here? Mosaics, piadina flat bread,. Everyone identifies a place with something that represents it […] maybe people do not feel represented by the same things, but about myself, I do feel represented by mosaics and piadina as Romagnolian" [young woman, biologist]

"The young generations I believe, do not feel represented by the traditions mainly

because they have not experienced them in their childhood" [middle-age man, warehouse worker]

Monuments and cultural capital:

"Romagna is an agricultural land, fruits land, that is the real Romagna and Romagnolians are really attached to their land or to their work. […] I know that in Ravenna there are many beautiful monuments, but I cannot say anything as I have never seen them nor known them" [elder man remembering an old Romagna dedicated to the land and work]

Traditions have been passed on to me from my parents, who were not cultured people, so I don't think my parents have ever visited monuments, maybe a church for their credo. [elder woman, shop keeper]

"I do not know monuments very well so I do not identify myself with them, probably because I do not know them" [young man, electrician]

"Monuments are a tangible link with the history of my land, knowing them means being aware of our own roots where our identity is rooted. […]. What do I think better represent the idea of Romagna? Of course dialect and Sangiovese wine" [young man, artist]

Romagnolian identity:

"My identity is represented by monuments, but not only. I believe it is also related to the happy, strong, extroverted and straight character of people living here" [young woman, office worker]

"Real Romagnoliness is in the people, not in monuments" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I would say the typical Romagnolian "s", piadina, Sangiovese wine, cappelletti and passatelli (they are two types of local pasta). *Also the beaches with lifeguards, night life, the excellent organisation and the well-being".* [young man, electrician]

"My identity is represented by dialect and traditions […] our identity is represented by our dialect". [young man, cultural heritage consultant]

"Romagnolian identity is represented by the beaches, welcoming people, piadina, hills and Sangiovese wine" [young woman, office worker]

"Cultural heritage may represent my identity but it is not only that one. There are also food, enjoying the life, living well. All these things represent Romagnolian identity. Also cappelletti and piadina" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"monuments give me pride but my identity is better represented by piadina" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"Romagnolian identity is given by cordiality, abnegation and desire of standing out" [young man, archaeologist]

"Churches, museums, mosaics represent my identity only partially. The main part of it is represented by local traditions. Romagnolian identity is conveyed by dialect, which is genuine, real and sharp" [middle-age woman, office worker]

"I feel Romagnolian as I embody the characteristics of Romagnolian people and I know them. [..] I believe some monuments may represent my identity, especially those which are still underneath, still uncovered or put underneath again. Out, on the

soil there are only churches, wonderful churches, but everything related to the previous periods, such as the ancient Roman port, some canals of the ancient Ravenna, as it was similar to Venice, all these things are still underneath. […] Long time ago, Ravenna was a proper valley, things such this one better represent myself as Romagnolian, for instance the surrounding pine forest, although it is not a monument, I think more about my identity as Romagnolian linked to the landscape. Romagnolian traditions are basically agricultural tradition, whereas monuments are more linked to the city of Ravenna, here is the difference. […] I perceive as Romagnolian the landscape that is no longer visible, the gastronomic traditions or even the dialect as all things come from the agricultural tradition" [middle-age man, sails maker]

Appendix F

Interesting answers from tourists:

"Heritage is the basis of our history. Definitely is part of my identity, not only a national identity, it should be international identity, they belong to everyone" [young woman]

"Our heritage is a huge resource, and along with traditions and habits, are part of our identity" [young man]

"Heritage is our historical memory, a legacy telling us what our predecessors have done" [middle-age man]

"[Heritage] represents the history of our country, well known all over the world, that is why it is important. […] If people come from everywhere to visit them, it is a reason to proud of it" [young woman]

"Heritage is our history" [middle-age man]

"Our heritage is extremely important and I feel a sense of belonging towards it, sure 100%" [middle-age man]

"Our heritage is fundamental and essential, it is like oxygen" [young woman]

"Heritage mainly here in Italy is very important, we are immersed in it, it is our history" [middle-age man]

"Monuments represent the human history, they are what is left from the past, what ancient people have built and done, our origins and our evolution" [elder man]

"I think cultural heritage represents a moment of growth and personal development" [young woman]

"Heritage is one of the most important thing people have and we need to look after it" [young man]

"Oh, you are asking me what cultural heritage represent to me? Well, for me cultural heritage is like going back to the roots of our culture, of our history. Being Italian I think Italy it is country were there have been many dominations, different epochs, so I reckon that the quantity and quality of our artistic heritage is very high. I have travelled around the world and believe me, the concentration of heritage here in Italy is so high. It makes me think about how many people who have lived here in the past and what they have been able to make. I feel really fascinated by this theme" [middle-age woman]

"Our heritage is a treasure" [middle-age man]

"Cultural heritage is the most important thing in Italy" [young woman]

"Heritage needs to be protected, it is a wonder for our eyes and mind. Only in Italy you can find so many monuments, sites. If you think about pieces of art, the majority of them, those you can find in Paris at the Louvre or Madrid, they are from Italy" [young man]

"Our heritage is our roots, our history towards which we can look at in order to understand what we are nowadays. We should look at heritage in this way as well, not only because it satisfies our eyes. It is a pleasure for our minds but also a basin to tap from" [middle-age woman]

"Cultural heritage represents everything, part of our being Italian, in other words our identity" [young man]

"Heritage is a huge asset, it is part of our history. What we are today comes from what our ancestors have left to us. It is a strong part of my identity" [middle-age man]

"Cultural heritage is the history of humankind. It is a benchmark for everyone" [young woman]

"I stay on the beach with my children, however today we decided to visit these amazing monuments here in Ravenna [young man]

"I am camping not far from here, at Lido Adriano and I thought it would be nice to visit these monuments" [young man]

"I do not know much about Romagnolian identity and culture, I usually go to the beach in Cervia, and when I come here, I spend time visiting monuments" [middle-age man]

"It is unbelievable that all tourists guides here are not from this place" [elder woman]

"Here everyone is happy and smiling" [middle-age woman]

"We know something about Romagnolian people: they are welcoming, they are very attached to their land, hard workers, and extremely creative people" [middle-age man]

"Romagnolian people are recognisable everywhere by the their loud voice and their accent, they are very nice and fun people" [middle-age woman]

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